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MODES & MANNERS
OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN FOUR VOLUMES
1790–1914

In the present edition of MODES AND MANNERS, *some additional coloured and black-and-white illustrations have been included and a short note* (*Chapter* IA) *has been added dealing with American fashions.*

IN THE ARTIST'S HOUSE

MORITZ VON SCHWIND. 1860. New Picture Gallery, Munich

MODES & MANNERS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AS REPRESENTED IN THE PICTURES
AND ENGRAVINGS OF THE TIME

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
OF

DR. OSKAR FISCHEL AND
MAX VON BOEHN

1843 1878

VOL. III

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MODES & MANNERS
OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

The year 1848 was preceded by a general restlessness and discontent among high and low alike, the feverish premonitions of a coming outbreak. The temper of the age is nowhere more clearly detected than in Varnhagen's Journals, which are written with a pen dipped in gall, and mirror every aspect of a time that had given up all belief, and lost all respect for authority. No one contributed more largely to this general condition of bankruptcy than King Frederick William IV., who believed himself equal to every occasion, and thought he understood everything, because he had always fine words at command and knew how to talk. Vacillating and inconsistent, obeying every passing mood and suggestion, living entirely in a world of his own, he succeeded only in awakening a general spirit of opposition among his subjects, in spite

Napoleon III. and Eugénie
(From a photograph)

EMPEROR FRANZ JOSEPH AND ELISABETH
(*Vienna china*)

of his best efforts and most honest intentions. Powerless against the younger nobles and bureaucrats, whose chief idea of wisdom still consisted in police regulations, the only result of his restless activity was, as Gustav Freytag writes in his Reminiscences, that the people, justly dissatisfied with this arbitrary style of Government, grew more and more distrustful of its measures, and therefrom a bitterness of feeling arose which developed into pessimism. And so it came about that the standing order of things had not what was best and truest on its side, and when the storm broke in 1848, Europe was deluged with a flood of anarchy; those who had the power were prevented by their bad consciences from using it; those who had justice on their side were hindered by their lack of experience and knowledge. Everything was topsy-turvy, and to use Wilhelm von Merkel's simile, the state of things resembled a circular beat, the lions running round the hares and finding themselves in a mouse-hole. Metternich fell, and with him his system of government, which was framed on the idea that to close all the valves was the safest course to pursue with an overheated boiler. The boiler had burst; as in France in 1789, the states lay in ruins.

Eduard Kaiser EMPRESS ELISABETH (*about* 1855) (*From a lithograph*)

and unfortunately there was no one who knew how to build them up again.

The people, who for years past had kept their hopes fixed on the idea of a Parliament, still looked upon it as a panacea for all evils, but the various governments hesitated to drive

EMPRESS ELISABETH OF AUSTRIA
(From a photograph)

out the devil of anarchy by the help of the Beelzebub of a national representative assembly. Both sides thought that parliamentarism was infallible—and they were both wrong. The people, in over-valuing the bare permission to sign a ballot paper from time to time, lost sight of the more precious right of self-government, and the ruling powers did not foresee how short a time it would take for the Parliaments they hated to manifest their inutility.

For the generation of 1848, however, the National Parliament was the one absorbing idea, and when on 18 May, 1848, the foremost men of the German nation met in the Paulskirche in Frankfurt, they believed that the first step had been taken towards the liberty and unity of the country. The state of things in Germany was so confused and unsettled, that only by national representation could any improvement, it was thought, be introduced; nobody would see how lamentably parliamentarism had failed in France; each and all shut their eyes to the fact that the much-vaunted liberty of the Englishman did not result from the institution of Parliament alone, but from the legally guaranteed security of every individual in England against arbitrary police or judicial measures. A refreshing optimism was displayed in the way in which this first assembled Parliament passed measures, for the carrying out of which, whether concerned with constitutional rights or the election of the Emperor, it had not even a semblance of power, in spite of imperial vicegerents and ministers.

Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria

(*From a photograph*)

This National Parliament numbered among its members men of the finest intellect, but they were as lacking in practical capability as Struve and Hecker, who made a random proclamation of the German republic, or as Frederick William IV., when he made his famous progress through Berlin and fraternised with the mob in the street. No one knew which way to look; there was no fixed goal to which to escape from the prevailing chaos; the world, in this whirl of confused ideas, seemed turned upside down. Had not the Pope become a refuge for the Liberals, a prince-bishop in Breslau turned Protestant, and the Jew Stahl arisen as the champion of absolutism?

Politics were turning everybody's head; they enticed the inoffensive choir-master Richard Wagner to join the Dresden street-fighting, the æsthetic Gottfried Kinkel to take part in the insurrection in Baden, the princely matricide Ludwig Sulkowski to post himself at the barricades in Vienna. Politics became the one fixed idea also among rulers, as exemplified in Ludwig I. of Bavaria, who writes in all seriousness to his son Otto, that there had been almost a revolt in Munich in order to force him to resume the crown; and in Frederick William IV., who forgets all differences of rank and when Albrecht von Stosch appears before him to deliver some military report, explains his political standpoint and justifies

FREDERICK WILLIAM IV., KING OF PRUSSIA

his actions to this plain lieutenant.

And while those who were in power, and those who were now seeking to obtain it, were quarrelling over the piece of paper with the word "Constitution" written upon it, a new question arose among those who formed the lowest stratum of society, of such gravity and importance that beside it the whole wretched warfare of the two political parties was in comparison but as if they were squabbling over the Emperor's beard; the proletariat had come forward to show the classes above that there is a compelling power in the material needs of a people, that the stomach at all times has a prior claim to the head.

With fear and trembling the owners of factories became aware that their steam-mills were necessarily producing widespread poverty and misery among the working classes, and they heard with terror the cry raised by the down-trodden masses of a "right to work." When, after the failure of the utopian schemes organised in Paris by Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, Cavaignac, to the delight of the capitalists, suppressed the rising of the working classes in June 1848, the property owners of all countries felt surer of their position, taking this as a proof of the community of their interests. Everybody who had anything to lose breathed more freely when Windischgrätz brought his garrison to Vienna and Wrangel his to Berlin; the fear which set the capitalists

PORTRAIT OF THE PRINCESS JOINVILLE

FRANZ XAVER WINTERHALTER. Versailles Museum

trembling for their goods and chattels was a surer preparation for reaction than the bayonets of the soldiers.

LOLA MONTEZ (*From a lithograph*)

That mad year over and reaction in the ascendant, every thing from top to bottom was discovered to have undergone

Otto v. Bismarck

a change; kings as well as citizens unexpectedly found themselves in a new position; the uncomfortable conditions of a transition period, when what was old had disappeared for ever and what was new was still strange and undeveloped, produced a distortion of ideas and judgment. Constitutional monarchy, which only existed now by compact, still clung jealously to the fiction of legitimism, but all these sovereigns who had "by the grace of God" endeavoured to raise themselves sky-high above the people, still listened anxiously to catch the tone of public opinion and strove for popularity, as anxious to get good notices in the press as any second-rate actor.

The middle classes, glad at heart that the soldiery were at hand to protect their property, that throne and altar still existed as guarantees for the safety of the purse, could not get rid so quickly of their former obligations, and the unavoidable dishonesty consequent on the lack of correspondence between their actions and their supposed principles, the essential meanness of their position, which became increasingly apparent, crippled their power. Everyone had grown convinced that might was right, that might was more than right, and that those who were not on the side of might were liable to arbitrary imprisonment under the leads of the Bastille, on the Spielberg, or in the fortress of Peter and Paul. Was it ever possible for the weak to obtain justice from the strong? The middle classes would never have been equal to this

Menzel THE SALON OF FRAU VON SCHLEINITZ 29. VI. 74.

Count Seckendorf. Count Poutralès. Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg.
Helmholtz. H. v Angeli. Countess Brühl. Crown Prince Friedrich.
Frau v. Helmholtz. Crown Princess. A. v. Werner.
Fr. u v. Schleinitz. v. Schleinitz

Lenbach KING LUDWIG I.

downright honesty; they on their side also desired that justice should carry their ideas into effect, but they were hypocritical enough to declare justice to be righteousness. The upper classes had resolutely thrown Christianity overboard in the eighteenth century, and it had for a long time now been looked upon with indifference by the bourgeoisie; but the latter clung to an outward appearance of belief, hoping to use it as a check on the claims of the masses. The bourgeoisie were, however, as incapable as the aristocracy of suppressing inconvenient ideas with spiritual weapons; they also needed to call in judge and police, although they shrank from the odium of so doing: in short, from the moment the middle classes decided to absolve the aristocracy, lying flourished in public life, unrestrained and unabashed. And a prototype of the years with which we are now dealing was Napoleon III., he who was known as "father of lies." This adventurous son of fortune, the great magician by the Seine, held the whole world breathless for a space of two decades—admired because he crushed anarchy, feared because he proclaimed state-socialism, over-estimated because no one was the equal even of Napoleon the little. Those who saw through

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1844

CHARLOTTE, EMPRESS OF MEXICO
(From a photograph)

him, like Drouyn de Lhuys, who said of him, "The mystery of his inscrutability lies in the want of motive for his actions: he is not to be explained, only mistrusted"—or Bismarck, who declared that "Napoleon would gladly eat his portion in peace, if the consequences of his own policy would only allow him to do so"—met with no credit, everyone preferring to look upon this mysterious opponent as a genius of unfathomable depth, rather than confess to their own lesser value by acknowledging his insignificance.

Only in this way can we explain why rulers and cabinets tried to annoy him with petty insults. Instead of the usual title of "brother," they addressed him as "sire," and "good friend," a state matter discussed for months by the greater

Adolf Dressler AUSTRIAN PRISONERS IN BRESLAU (*Detail*) 1866

Winterhalter EMPRESS AUGUSTE

powers and which nearly kindled a European war. Diplomatists had to pay for the humiliation to which they had subjected the parvenu, for the calms or storms of higher politics were for many years dependent on Napoleon, who by the ungraciousness of a New Year's speech brought about a war which lost Austria her finest provinces. The final thrust given to his tottering kingdom by the success of the German arms only hastened its fall, for Napoleon's days were numbered before the battle of Sedan. A state that wished to base itself on socialistic ideas, and then exiled the chosen representatives of these ideas to Cayenne, was frightened of the spirits it convoked and could no longer control, delivers up the school to the Church and looks upon absolutism as a preliminary condition to democratic equality, must fall to the ground by its own inconsistency; an emperor who continually abandons his crown to the chances of the popular vote, cannot and dare not govern as an absolute monarch.

And as Napoleon III. had to give way step by step within his own realm, forced at last into an attitude of defence, so his vacillating foreign policy by degrees brought about his ruin. His great uncle had by the very means he employed to bring England into subjection only succeeded in making this hated country the mistress of the seas, and in like manner Napoleon III. helped towards the very ends he wished to prevent, the unification of Germany and Italy. He did his best to oppose and hinder the wishes and efforts of these two countries, and

Menzel COURT RECEPTION BY THE EMPEROR WILLIAM I. 1879

only unwillingly was obliged at last to keep step with them. Happy those who recognise in time what is the will of the people; happy the people whom favourable fortune enables to accomplish their will; all greatness is summarised in the word, "Success." We can look back and admire that generation of whom Gustav Freytag writes, that every individual had his share in the political progress of his own state and in the victory and success which exceeded all hopes, and thereby secured the highest earthly happiness vouchsafed to man.

Two generations after Napoleon I. had been defeated by the German statesman Metternich, another German statesman defeated a later Bonaparte and proclaimed his King as German Emperor in the Gallery of Mirrors at Versailles. The fates of Metternich and Bismarck were similar—astonishing successes placed them in turn for years at the head of European affairs, and in age both suffered a fall, which obliged them, against their will, to look on at the destruction of their own work.

The Prince of Wales

CHAPTER Ia

The decade 1850–1860 proved the most momentous period in American history since the Declaration of Independence— The quarrel which had been pending between North and South ever since politicians imagined they had shelved the question in the "Missouri Compromise" of 1820 entered upon a new stage when gold was discovered in California in 1848. In February, 1848, there were only 2000 Americans in all California, by the end of 1849 there were 53,000. Gold was the one subject of conversation and thousands of optimists were hurrying west. The establishment of a strong government in California and New Mexico became imperative. The question of slavery once more complicated the issue; the South resisted the admission of California as a Free State because it would upset the balance of power between the Free and Slave States in the Senate. There were other causes of dispute between the political parties, the various States, the North and South, which were dealt with in the "Compromise of 1850" whose object was the settlement of all urgent questions. The "Compromise" in effect, settled nothing. So long as there were new territories to be filled and new States to be formed there was bound to be strife and controversy on the subject of slavery. The causes of the dispute between North and South went as deep, or deeper, than any *casus belli* between the States of Europe. The South depended on slavery and cheap imports, the North upon protective tariffs and free labour; the North was hampered by the foreign competition which the South did not feel. The morality of slave owning had, in the beginning, nothing to do with the dispute. It was not until the fratricidal war had begun that Lincoln changed its whole character by proclaiming the emancipation of the slaves and raised for the South the spectre of division in its own councils. The War became one of exhaustion the results of which were far reaching and immeasurably disastrous, but the fact that the South

W. McN. Whistler

THE GIRL IN WHITE
The National Gallery

fought for a principle—as the North did—the ancient principle of that same right of self-government which had animated the new nation in 1770—gave the struggle dignity. Its end saw the South ruined, its social system destroyed, its wealth vanished. Lincoln's death robbed the State of the one man who might have reconciled the victorious and the vanquished; the well-meaning but narrow-visioned men who followed him had no ability to see the point of view of the ruined and conquered South. The results of their policy were appalling. Practically in the South the negroes were enfranchised and their late masters disfranchised; the negroes were quite incapable of governing and interpreted their liberty simply to be release from all restraint, and in the end the disfranchised whites had to take the law into their own hands. The years 1866 to 1871 saw the rise of the "Ku Klux Klan" a secret society who terrified, whipped and finally began to murder negro leaders. In the years after 1868 the whole South seemed to be in a condition of anarchy, while in the North political corruption reached an almost incredible point.

Politically the country seemed in a state of chaos, heading rapidly towards disaster but economically the period between 1865-1885 was one of great prosperity. Railway building became a mania, and manufactures expanded enormously. The country, owing to its geographical conditions and the manner in which it had been colonised, divided itself naturally into regions with widely different interests and social characteristics. In the East manufactures and shipping led to the growth of a commercial and wealthy society; the South, aided by mechanical inventions, gradually built up again its cotton industry; the Middle-West received in increasing numbers the hardy peasant stock of Europe and became one of the world's granaries; farther west cattle-raising, mining, timber employed a rougher type of immigrant and on the Pacific coast the leisurely Spanish tradition persisted until late in the nineteenth century.

The wealth of New York greatly impressed visitors from Europe. "The dwelling houses of the higher classes are

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1844

W. P. Frith, R.A.

DERBY DAY
The National Gallery

extremely handsome and very richly furnished" wrote one: "silk or satin furniture is as often or oftener seen than chintz; the mirrors are as handsome as in London; the chiffoniers, slabs and marble tables as elegant; and in addition, they have all the pretty tasteful decoration of French porcelaine and ormolu in much greater abundance because at a much cheaper rate. Every part of their houses is well carpeted and the exterior finishings, such as steps, railings and door frames are very superior. Little tables looking and smelling like flower-beds, portfolios, nick-nacks, bronzes, busts, cameos and alabaster vases, illustrated copies of lady-like rhymes bound in silk and in short all the pretty coxcomalities of the drawing-room scattered about with the same profuse and studied negligence as with us."

In spite of the handsome houses the streets of New York seem to have left a great deal to be desired. Mrs. Trollope in 1832 complained of the scavenger pigs which wandered in the streets; George Augustus Sala in 1863 complained of the geese. "The inhabitants of every street (except Broadway and Fifth Avenue)" he wrote "seem to revel in a perpetual licence to shoot rubbish wherever they like. Muck, garbage, offal meet the eye at every turn . . . Nearly all the washing seems to be done at home and groves of under-linen compete with the Stars and Stripes of the National Banner for the honour of fluttering in the breeze."

The great defect in the houses of New York from the point of view of the traveller seems to have been their uniformity; "When you have seen one, you have seen all" complains one lady. The same complaint seems often to have been made of the American people; "Yet" says the same writer "there is society to be met with in New York which would be deemed delightful anywhere, Cards are very seldom used and music, from their having very little professional aid at their parties is seldom, I believe, as good as what is heard at private concerts in London. The Americans have certainly not the same *besoin* of being amused as other people." George Augustus Sala found Broadway lively enough however: "Broadway is crowded with

Alfred Stevens

MRS. COLLMAN
The National Gallery

gay dresses and pretty faces" he wrote in 1863: "Oh! these charming wearers of fur mantles and Paris bonnets—bevies of minx and sable-backed ducks who flutter through the great promenade of New York. Young America is amazing in Broadway; laughing, racing, jumping, romping, rushing hither and thither, dragging its parents and guardians whithersoever it listeth. The Americans notoriously and habitually spoil their children."

GRACE E. THOMPSON.

Moritz v. Schwind STAGE-CARRIAGE (*from the "Symphonie"*) 1852

CHAPTER II

THE pseudo-classic style of art of the First Empire centred round the name of David; his personal genius set a mark on every production of his time worthy the name of art. The following period had no such guiding star, for the art of the second half of the nineteenth century was wholly democratic, so many artists, so many tendencies of style. The emancipation from classicism had lessened the restrictions on art, and Goya, the Spanish painter and a contemporary of David, was a modern in the present sense of the word; his work, however, was hardly known on this side of the Pyrenees until our own time, while the tempestuous generation of young France, Géricault, Delacroix, and others, began to make open war even during the lifetime of David and his disciples. They insisted on replacing the old lifeless models by real and animated subjects; in the middle of the thirties these masters took up their abode at Fontainebleau in order to make a close study of nature, and the fight then spread all along the line. The more enthusiastically the younger school—and there were some grey heads among its members—fought for light and air, for life and truth, the more doggedly the older school—and it numbered some who had never been young—clung to tradition and routine. The younger stood alone,

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1845

pursued with bitter scorn by the older men, whose style of art, being easy of comprehension, attracted the mass of the people.

Ingres

Since art societies had replaced rich private collectors, since artists had ceased to paint for lovers of art and only provided pictures for exhibitions, the public had also lost all understanding of what was really artistic. Works of art, it was now thought, were to be judged, not enjoyed; and in this age of general education there was no one who did not consider himself capable of judging. The minister Detmold as early as 1848 amusingly shows up this mania for expressing opinion on art in his *How to become an Art Connoisseur in the Course of a Few Hours*, but the mania lasted to the time of which we are now speaking. No one would have dared to pass judgment on any matter belonging to a special branch of study of which they were ignorant, but every one was ready to talk twaddle about art, and of what it ought and ought not to be. On the daily critics rests the chief blame of aggravating the controversy and warping public opinion. It would be amusing to collect the various criticisms that appeared of Manet, Feuerbach, and Böcklin—those written before they were famous, and those written after—and to see how many who at first could not cry loud enough, "Crucify!" were afterwards overcome with passionate adoration, the daily press and the daily critic being then as now on the side of general

Ingres

opinion: criticism is femininely weak, and, like a woman, is influenced more by the person than the thing.

Every age has its idol; for the Germans in the forties, fifties, and sixties, it was Wilhelm von Kaulbach, in whose work they found what they most prized, learning and culture. The paintings on the staircase walls of the New Museum at Berlin are the highest achievement of which this style of art is capable; they are so crowded with allusions and references, that their incomprehensibility fills the uncultured with admiring awe, while the more learned onlooker, to whom the riddle is so easy and the mysteries so transparent, becomes delightfully conscious of the wide range of his own knowledge. Herein lies their success, and if they do not mean so much to us to-day as they did to our fathers, we must still remember that Kaulbach satisfied the taste of most eminent men of his time; do we not recall the admiration with which the cool-headed Moltke spoke of these pictures to his wife: Cornelius was equally rich in ideas, but Kaulbach was preferred, for the latter was soft where the other was harsh, and had just the shallowness which befits the drawing-room.

Germany was still enjoying its cartoon-paintings when the younger artists, who now went to Paris instead of to Rome, became aware to their surprise that French art stood on quite a different plane, and that it had far outstepped the art of Germany. After Courbet's visit to Munich it was con-

Gustav Richter 1852

PORTRAIT OF HIS SISTER

clusively decided that the higher school of painting was not that of the German academies, but of Paris. The appearance and ways of the people of that period, however, can be as little ascertained from contemporary high art as was the case in the twenties and thirties; taste had ceased to be classical, but it was still historic; and Piloty would have feared to profane his brush by taking anything for his model from the nineteenth instead of from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. As before, portrait painting alone gives us an idea of what everybody looked like. Winterhalter held the first place as a painter of the fashionable elegance of the upper ten thousand, and next to him came the Viennese Angeli and Gustav Richter of Berlin; a rival to the portrait painter had, however, now arisen in the art of photography.

Winterhalter EUGÉNIE ADÉLAÏDE LOUISE D'ORLÉANS 1842
(*Gallery, Versailles*)

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1845

After Daguerre had made his discovery, and later when, in the fifties, photography had replaced the old daguerreotypes, everybody, no matter what their station, age, or sex might be, sat for their portraits. Photography, being a cheaper and easier process, so completely superseded engraving and lithography that these two branches of art before long almost

Carpeaux MME. LEFÈVRE, *née* SOUBISE

disappeared and were only brought into use when absolutely necessary.

Sculpture did not enter into any new phase of life at this time; it was, nevertheless, called upon to perform large tasks, for the mania for monuments had set in. Before the middle of the nineteenth century monuments were scarce; the statues which had been put up by princes or private individuals in the streets and squares of Europe might have been counted. People had contented themselves until then with monuments in churches and cemeteries, rightly considering that the

Ferdinand von Rayski PORTRAIT OF A CHILD

Moritz v. Schwind. (*From a photograph*)

surroundings were a more effective setting to a work of art of this kind than the bustling noisy street.

As far as art is concerned there is not much to be said for these modern monumental sculptures. Impossible riders on inconceivable horses, cloaked figures, at home everywhere and nowhere, set on such magnificent pedestals that the attention is drawn away from the figures themselves, and the whole cast in a composition metal which soon became covered with a blackish crust—these are the specialities of most of the monuments of that day. The scoffers who made fun of the royal Bavarian monumental torso had cause to laugh, but the painful uniformity of which they complained was not confined to Munich. If any sprite were one day to mix up the monuments

—C'est pour ces madames-là qu'on élargit les rues de Paris.
—Gavarni

of Munich, Berlin, London, and other places, erected at that time, could anyone frankly say to which they each belonged? It would be impossible, so drearily alike are they; and one can only wonder that this mania for spoiling the most beautiful squares with such dummy figures has not long ago died out in view of the apathy of the general public.

The poverty of imagination, if we can use this word at all in connection with such works, is particularly striking where an effort has been made to embody any large conception; then the help of mechanical contrivances had to be called in, as with the Bavaria in Munich, or the Niederwald Germania; if it was a group of many figures, they were represented like so many chess-men, as in the Luther monument

at Worms, or that to Counts Egmont and Horn in Brussels; finally, in the Siegesallee in Berlin, with a view to doing

F. K. Hausmann THE ARTIST'S WIFE 1853

honour to the formula of the barrack-yard, "Fall in! Eyes right!" the artist has spoilt the effect of a good idea with

his didactic monotony and barren repetition. The whole piece of confectionery would be unbearably wearisome, if

Alfred Stevens THE NOVEL

it were not for the irresistibly and quite unintentionally comic effect produced by the sense of importance which seems to

Ingres MME. GOUNOD

inflate these figures and to communicate itself even to the eagles and griffins that support the seats.

As usual, the good models found few imitators; Schmitze's monument to the Emperor in Coblentz and Lederer's Bismarck in Hamburg remain exceptional examples, these being contrary to the received canon, according to which citizens who had conferred some indirect benefit on learning or art were represented seated, generals and statesmen standing, the highest rulers riding, even though, like Ludwig I., they had never been on the back of a horse. Such was the received custom, and so it remained.

The architecture of the time could not boast of originality; it neglected the new material that was ready to hand, for it did not know how to set about making use of iron, unsuitable as it was to the designs then in general favour. So the iron used in building was either hidden, or, if unavoidably shown, employed with no idea of its æsthetic capabilities, as if an

Rossetti Miss Siddal

iron building must necessarily be ugly.

The learning of the day, which had not confined itself to the classical, but had made a study of every kind of architectural style however remote, provided builders with inexhaustible materials for imitation. These builders were the more willing to make use of such materials, as various industries were tending to lighten the work of imitation and providing architecture with makeshifts, which, convenient though uninteresting, were characteristic of the whole period. Instead of marble, stucco was now used, plaster instead of stone, and plaster casts for carvings; whole sections of buildings were constructed of sheet-metal painted to look like stone; the houses, as did the people themselves, aimed at looking more than they really were. For many years to come architecture did not get beyond this artificial manner of building, and it was not until much later that the first signs of a better style began to appear; it is still, however, continually crossed by the old humdrum style which remains under bureaucratic guardianship.

One must beware, however, of passing too harsh a judgment on that period, for our own is not so free from relapses as one might have hoped, seeing the amount of work that has been expended on æsthetic culture in the way of books, lectures, exhibitions, and museums. In spite of all these efforts we of this twentieth century are still forced to see exhibition galleries in Berlin built in the "romanesque"

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1848

Anselm Feurbach NANA 1861

style; an exhibition pavilion put up by the General Society of Electricity in the form of a romanesque baptistery; while the figures on the modern Gothic town-hall in Munich appear in full-bottomed wigs and pigtails.

But our fathers had no idea of being without a style of their own any more than we have; with such an abundant overplus of learning it would have seemed a disgrace not to own a style; and this may explain the attempts to create one *par ordre de moufti*, like Maximilian II.'s symmetrical scheme for the frontage of his palace; wishing to be ahead of his time, he in reality stuck fast in its ways, for he did not pay attention to anything beyond the façade. And why should the architect trouble himself about what lay behind the even row of palace windows, the dweller within being quite satisfied with his palatial front rooms? Any further convenient apartments for sleeping and living in were of no account—they would never be seen!

Winterhalter (*Taken in the sixties*)

PORTRAIT OF THE PRINCESS WORONTZOFF

Only by very slow degrees did the idea of comfort gain ground; not till the sixties was there any proper sanitary arrangement introduced into the ordinary dwelling-house in Berlin, not till the seventies was there such a thing as a bath-room, not till the eighties did they go so far as no longer to poke the servants in under the loft-roof, and begin to put them where they could get some light and air. During these same years gas gradually supplanted the old oil-lamps for street lighting, and even electric lighting was introduced now and then.

The houses were not more unsuitable for the purposes

Rossetti AGNES SIDDAL 1858

of daily life than the furniture that filled them. The art of furniture-making never fell so low as it did about 1848. The chief fault was due to the cheap rubbish turned out by the factories, which replaced the solid but expensive old hand-made furniture. The cheap furniture was neither workman-like nor artistic; its thin coating of veneer and glued-on ornaments corresponded in trashy elegance with the absolute lack of style in its design. The furniture and domestic utensils of that time were a combination of every conceivable style, the shape belonging to one, the decoration to another, and, these heterogeneous articles being set off with painfully naturalistic flower and leaf work, the absence of style degenerated into regular deformity. The designs of carpets, embroideries and curtains, of silver and china, of bronze ornaments and necessary articles, which were thought beautiful in the fifties and sixties, were the more offensive

Eduard v. Steinle 1867
THE ARTIST'S DAUGHTER

to good taste as the ignorance shown in the designing was exceeded by the utter lack of appreciative feeling for the material. Various industries were all ready to offer their make-believe productions: zinc casts for bronze, stamped for beaten metal, plaster casts for wood-carving, oiled paper for painted glass. Deception was carried so far that the use of an article was concealed by some artificial form; a beer-jug is no beer-jug, but a work-basket, a model of the triumphal column is a thermometer, a small figure of Hermann turns out to be a cigar-holder, and a helmet a necessary. As Falke remarked, the chief aim seemed to be to make everything appear meant for exactly the opposite use to that for which it was really intended, and after the war with France the heads of Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, the Emperor William, and the Crown Prince Frederick, were the only possible models for all kinds of things, for the soap one washed with and the chocolate one ate. In historical times such a triumphant exhibition of the lack of taste would not have been possible; unfortunately the measures adopted to combat it only led into further byways of error. The Prince Consort was the first to endeavour to infuse a more artistic spirit into the handicrafts, and this he did chiefly by collecting an immense number of models for the people from the best work of ancient and modern times; the South Kensington Museum, the model of all similar institutions on the Continent, owes to him its foundation.

Those who fled from the shoddy productions of the day to

PORTRAIT OF FRAU KLARA SCHMIDT VON KNOBELSDORF

ADOLF VON MENZEL. 1840. National Gallery, Berlin

Böcklin 1860-1862

FANNY JANAUSCHEK, THE TRAGÉDIENNE

the works of their fathers (Jakob von Falke being one of their chief leaders) were animated by the best intentions; they pointed to these works as models and induced the crafts to confine themselves to imitation, and at this stage handicrafts remained for a long time after the Munich Exhibition of 1875, simultaneously with Makart's studio-style, had brought the "old German" into fashion. And what a wild chase there has been since; how we have been pursued by Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, and Empire styles, and how each of these in turn has been degraded by cheap imitations! Do not we all remember this, and is it not still before our eyes? Those who were anxious that the old traditions of the earlier craftsmen should be revived quite overlooked the fact that there were no men

Manet EVA GONZALES

capable of carrying their desire into effect, no men who could be looked upon as craftsmen in the true sense of the word; capital had annihilated such; it was not the locksmith and joiner, but the manager of a large industry and the manufacturer who were to be trained in art—and we know what that meant—men like Reuleaux and Mathesius.

While most people were indulging in these mistaken hopes of progress, Ruskin and Morris, who were more far-seeing, with others similarly minded in England, were propagating other views; according to them, style was conditional on a more centralised culture. They naturally looked upon mere imitation as a fatal error, and it was this conviction that led Morris and Leighton, as directors of the South Kensington

Paul Baudry MME. EDMUND ABOUT *(End of the sixties)*

A. v. Keller CHOPIN (*Beginning of the seventies*)
(Photograph from Franz Hanfstaengl's studio, Munich)

Museum, to protest violently against the acceptance of John Jones's bequest—a collection of French furniture and bronzes of the eighteenth century worth a million. According to their opinion these objects of art would be injurious rather than helpful to progress; but such an astonishing and outspoken truth was not likely to be understood, or—fortunately—heeded.

The craze for imitation had gone so far that architects now thought they could handle the old styles even better than the ancient builders themselves, and they therefore acted upon this idea. The nineteenth century has to thank this ignorant assumption on the part of architects for the

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1850

injury done by them to nearly every ecclesiastical or secular building throughout Europe. And so the Frauenkirche in Munich was cleared, and its valuable old fixtures replaced by pasteboard Gothic from the church-ornament factory; there was no truce to the renovations and restorations, until even what was genuine and old took on the glitter of the false, and what the nineteenth century left unspoilt the twentieth has vulgarised.

Guerard THE GIESSBACH (*Sometime in the fifties*)

CHAPTER III

As the political world looked eagerly towards Paris during the Second Empire to see what the Emperor was doing or not doing, saying or not saying, so the world of beauty and fashion turned its eyes in the same direction now that the most beautiful woman in the world sat on the throne beside the monarch, for the French court gave the tone to fashion at this time more decidedly than during the reign of the citizen king and his immediate predecessors. We have so often heard and read that the Empress Eugénie swayed the sceptre of fashion that we have come to believe it, and to hold her responsible for every extravagance of dress to be seen at that time. If we carefully follow the development of fashion in those years, however, we are surprised to find that the supposed influence of the beautiful Spaniard had little or nothing to do with it—and the article of dress which was essentially

Guerard *"Honni soit qui mal y voit!"*

typical of the Second Empire, and which has generally been laid to her charge, was certainly not her invention.

When, on 30 January, 1853, she mounted the throne, wide skirts were being worn; and the statement that she increased the size of the crinoline in order to hide her condition before the Prince Imperial was born, does not agree with actual facts, for it was not till later that it attained its largest circumference. The Empress had an excellent and refined taste, and whatever style, colour, and material she chose from those then in fashion were sure to be imitated by everyone else—but she invented neither the one nor the other. On the contrary, in 1859 we read: "The Empress Eugénie has given up the crinoline;" it did not disappear, however, until many years later. After 1860, when the women's fashions in Paris adopted the *genre canaille*, the Empress herself never wore the loud colours, the daring cut, or the offensive style of coiffure which the fashion required.

Le Moniteur de la Mode 1844

One may justly affirm that no single person, however exalted his or her social position, ever set the fashion for the dress of the time. Marie Antoinette and Eugénie, by showing preference for certain trimmings, colours, or patterns, may have made these more popular; but these were trifles, and the more prominent features of a fashion, any particular article of dress which gave a general similarity of appearance, such as the hooped petticoat of the Rococo period, the chemise of the Empire, the crinoline of the Second Empire, cannot be put down to the account of any individual influence.

With the help of the fashion journals we can trace the

Les Modes Parisiennes 1845

Correus, Portrait 1848

development of fashion in Germany from week to week, from about 1780; it is evident that even the most important changes were gradual, and that no sudden alteration took place such as might be attributed to the fancy of a single person. Knowing so exactly as we do how people dressed themselves in the past, we naturally ask ourselves why they chose a particular style of dress at some particular period instead of any other?

When we recall certain historical epochs, such as that of Louis XIV., Frederick the Great, Napoleon I., we have a distinct mental picture of the people and things of the time; we know how the men and women looked, and what their surroundings were like, and it has become the habit to explain the fashions of a period by the spirit of the time and to declare that they could not therefore have been other than they were. There can, I think, be no doubt of the connection between the two, but no one has been able to explain their influence upon each other. To the narrow mental horizon of the early Renaissance has been attributed the tight breeches of the men; to the wider views and greater liberty of thought due to the Reformation in the sixteenth century the wide trunk-hose of the lansquenet; the coquettish elegance of the Rococo dress has been associated with the prevalent frivolity of the age, and the short skirt ending above the ankles and the leg-of-mutton sleeves of 1830 with the first steps towards the emancipation of women.

Rayski IDA VON SCHÖNBERG 1841–42

And other probable and improbable relations have been discovered, but yet no one has found the real explanation; and the longer we study the question the more certain do we become that though we know the how, we shall never know the why.

One thing, to which we have previously referred, we may assert without fear of contradiction—namely, that exaggeration has always been the very essence of fashion. Women, owing perhaps to an unconscious desire to attract, have through all time been in the habit of accentuating some portion of their figures, exaggerating it even to the point of absurdity. So we have the hooped petticoat of the Rococo style, which gave increased width to the hips, and kept the women literally at arm's length from the men; then the *gorges postiches* and *trompeuses* brought the bosom up to the chin; while in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century the leg-of-mutton sleeves gave such an immense breadth to the shoulders, that with the short dresses which helped to shorten the figure women looked as broad as they were long. The whole thing was a madness, though there may have been method in it.

At the beginning of the forties there was a lull, and for a while women's dress (women wearing corsets, of course) became as simple and sensible as was possible under existing conditions. The close-fitting bodice and sleeves showed off the natural figure without deforming it, the skirt, of reasonable fulness, clothed the lower part of the body without

Les Modes Parisiennes 1848

"LE MONITEUR DE LA MODE." 1851

Le Moniteur de la Mode 1849

hindering movement; it may be said, in short, that the dress in fashion about 1845 represented the normal clothing of a woman who still persisted in wearing corsets. But revolving fashion followed a path as far removed as possible from the poles of reason and suitability, and if its ecliptic at any moment brought it nearer to them the chance attraction was outbalanced by the power of repulsion. And so a few years ago, simultaneously with the introduction of the reformed dress-

Vidal *"Péché Mignon"*

which did away with corsets altogether, a corset shape came into fashion which was far more injurious to health than the one it superseded; and, in obedience to the law of its being, fashion, after having for a little while accommodated itself to the figure and the purpose for which dress was intended, again developed along extravagant lines heedless of all rational intention.

Gradually, after 1840, the skirt began to widen, and it went on increasing until, about 1860, it measured a full ten yards round. As the skirt did not grow proportionally long, but remained round at the bottom, it became necessary to invent some kind of framework to support it. About 1840, therefore, the under-petticoat was made more substantial, being lined with horsehair, or corded; a straw-plait was inserted in the hem, and as many petticoats were worn as possible. Over one of flannel came another padded with horsehair, above that one of Indian calico stiffened with cords, then a wheel of thickly plaited horsehair, and finally a starched muslin petticoat, and at last the dress itself. The underclothing of a lady of fashion consisted about 1856 of long drawers trimmed with lace, a flannel petticoat, an under petticoat $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards wide, a petticoat wadded to the knees and stiffened in the upper part

with whalebones inserted a hand's-breadth from one another, a white starched petticoat with three stiffly starched flounces, two muslin petticoats, and finally the dress. Even if these petticoats were all made of light stuff, and put into a plain

—Ah! je te prie de croire que l'homme qui me rendra rêveuse pourra se vanter d'être un rude lapin.
—From "Les Partageuses" (Gavarni).

band—and two or three were generally put into the same band—the weight and discomfort of such a quantity of material was such, that the idea of replacing the rolls of horsehair with steel wires was greeted as a salvation by the women, and the inventor made 750,000 francs in four weeks.

Les Modes Parisiennes 1851

PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST'S DAUGHTER

JOSEF KARL STIELER

In the possession of Major-General Seuffert, Augsburg

Winterhalter DUCHESSE DE MONTPENSIER

The cage-like frame which we associate with the name of crinoline, not only did away with the actual horsehair petticoat, but reduced the necessary number of underskirts, although a modest trousseau of the fifties still included twelve

Lithograph by Gavarni

La dernière passion de mon époux? voilà ce qu'en dit le daguerreotype.
—Pas jolie, l'air commun . . . et quelles mains ! . . . on se demande ce qu'une créature comme ça peut avoir pour elle.
—L'illégitime, ma chère.

white petticoats. A crinoline of twenty-four steels cost in 1860 $4\frac{1}{2}$ thalers, and weighed, if one could procure one of Thomson's *cage diamant,* only half a pound. Later on a Frenchman, Delirac, invented the *crinoline magique,* which could be made

Les Modes Parisiennes

Ingres FAMILY GROUP 1853

smaller or wider with a pressure of the hand. The crinoline was one of the most indispensable articles of fashionable attire, the quality of it a matter of extreme importance, so much so that Bismarck in 1856 undertook to get one from Berlin for Lady Malet in Frankfort. It was worn by all classes, from the drawing-room belle to the cook, the beggar woman and the coster's wife, and Albrecht von Roon writes from East Prussia in 1865, that even the peasant girls who work in the fields wear crinolines.

In many districts of Upper Bavaria the so-called "national dress" still preserves the full skirt of that period.

As everyone was now accustomed to see women in crinolines

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1853

Les Modes Parisiennes 1854

it would have looked peculiar if actresses had appeared without them on the stage. The crinoline was therefore adapted even to historical costumes, and when Christine Hebbel-Enghaus acted in the Nibelungen at Weimar it was considered quite natural that she should play the part of Kriemhild in a crinoline. Unluckily, she had not rehearsed the death

Les Modes Parisiennes 1854

scene, and when she fell at the close the unfortunate crinoline stood out round her like a bell, quite spoiling the tragic effect.

It is not to be wondered at that a style of dress which made the wearer so conspicuous should be the subject of derision, and the crinoline afforded draughtsmen, wits, and caricaturists an endless fund of matter for comic treatment. But the crinoline stood its ground against their attacks as well as against Vischer's more serious criticisms; when it finally disappeared the wits were the poorer by the

Le Follet

Les Modes Parisiennes 1854

loss of a profitable subject, and the comic papers have since been reduced to mothers-in-law, lieutenants, Jews, and students.

The taste of the day tending to increase the circumference of the skirt to as full a magnitude as possible, numerous flounces were added to help the crinoline and these continued to be a chief feature of dress for nearly twenty years. When the dress was made of heavier material, two skirts, when of lighter material three, four, five, and even six skirts of different lengths were worn, one over the other; but the method of the flounce was preferred, this being either of the same material as the rest of the skirt, or of lace, muslin, or tarlatan, over silk of the same colour.

About 1840 ladies were content with one flounce round the bottom of the skirt; in 1846 the number had already increased to five, seven, or nine flounces reaching to the waist; in 1852 crape dresses with fifteen, organdy-muslins with eighteen, in 1858 tarlatan skirts with twenty-five, were frequently seen, the Empress Eugénie appearing at a ball in a dress of white satin trimmed with one hundred and three tulle flounces. The flounce itself was treated in different ways—trimmed with lace, scalloped, goffered, festooned, plaited, fringed; sometimes it was of a different colour from the skirt, as for example, a dress of 1856 made of grey taffeta and trimmed with five flounces of different shades of green, and another of pink muslin with pink and white flounces; these trimmings were themselves trimmed, either with ruches, lace, ribbon, or embroidery. In 1850 a dress of white Lyons tulle had three flounces, each trimmed with five ruches; in 1858 a dress which made a sensation at Fontainebleau was of maize-coloured Chinese gauze, and had fifteen flounces, each trimmed with three rows of narrow black velvet. In thinking of the work entailed in the making of such dresses, one must remember that the American sewing-machine was introduced into Europe during the fifties; in the smaller German towns, however, the dresses

Kindermann 1855

MASTER GLAZIER ACHELIUS AND WIFE

must still have been made by hand; in 1855 a sewing machine cost eighty thalers in Brandenburg.

The upper part of the body rose above this flowing mass of material "like a lily-stem out of a flower-tub," as a contemporary described it. The bodice in so far shared the tendency of the skirt to become more and more like a balloon, that the sleeve also gradually began to swell. In 1845 the sleeve was still long and close-fitting, but soon after it underwent a change and for a while wavered between long and short, loosely hanging or gathered, until in 1850 it determined on the shape known as the Pagoda sleeve, which it retained for about ten years. The sleeve began narrow at the shoulder, and fell open in a large bell-shape at the elbow; later this style was also known as Half-pagoda or Grecian. White undersleeves of light material were worn from the elbows; these

Le Moniteur de la Mode 1856

grew larger and larger, until they were of such a fullness that starch alone was not sufficient to keep them out, and so in 1860 those who laid great stress on the appearance of the sleeve wore light steel hoops inside them.

The favourite flounce was also brought into use for the sleeves, and they were sometimes composed entirely of flounces, or else trimmed with them from shoulder to wrist, so that a lady in fashionable sleeves looked as if made up of a number of horns stuck one inside the other. The neck

Wilh. v. Kaulbach
PORTRAIT OF A CHILD

was worn open, the bodice ending above in a lace collar which gave opportunity for indulging in richness of taste; in 1848 it was quite the thing to wear a lace collar worth thirty to thirty-six thalers over a cheap jaconet dress. The low neck was absolutely necessary for the evening, and here also the extravagance of fashion was not restricted; it is reported that a provincial who was present at a ball given in the Tuileries in 1855, exclaimed in disgusted amazement that he had never seen such a thing since he was weaned.

The deep, wide, open necks were framed by a bertha; this was composed of ribbons, ruches, laces, embroideries, trimmed with flowers and feathers; it allowed free play, in short, to every one's creative fancy. The most unique bertha was the one made for the Empress Eugénie and composed of rubies, sapphires, emeralds, turquoises, amethysts, jacinths, topazes, and garnets, linked together with the crown diamonds, which numbered many hundreds.

In 1848 the Russian short jacket (Kasawaika) came into fashion for house wear; this was followed early in the fifties by bodices which opened in front over a vest of different colour, known at first as basquines, and after 1860 as Zouave jackets, the long sleeves being then cut open to the elbow. The white blouses followed, these being connected with the skirt by braces made of beautiful and expensive ribbons which served also for sashes.

Silk and satin were then the fashion for outdoor costumes; many years later Bismarck related to his people at Versailles

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1855

Les Modes Parisiennes 1855

how greatly the worthy women of Frankfort were shocked at seeing the elegant Madame Cordier walk in the rain through the muddy streets in her lace-trimmed satin dress. Beautiful materials and patterns were supplied by the manufacturers in response to this extravagant fashion; shot taffetas, damask reps; clouded, spotted, marbled, checked merveilleux at sixty

francs a yard. These costly materials, miracles of richness and taste, were more particularly manufactured by the silk-weavers at Lyons. Thence came gold and silver brocades, figured with bunches of flowers in coloured silks; lampas figured with golden palms, brocatelles with embroidered flowers in gold and silver thread, and moiré antique of every colour, this being a favourite material on account of its rich effect; in 1857 Malwine von Arnim was commissioned by Bismarck to buy a white moiré antique dress, to cost a hundred thalers, for her sister-in-law.

The Empress Eugénie used to speak of these costly dresses as her political costumes, since by wearing them she hoped to induce others to do the same and so help French industry. Lyons silk was for many years a magic word to the ladies, and even Moltke, in 1851, writes full of pride to his brother that he is going to make his wife a Christmas present of a Lyons silk dress, gros grain with a damask pattern. The Empress put compulsion on herself when she wore these heavy robes, for in common with most of her contemporaries she preferred the lighter fabrics; crape, gauze, barège, muslin, grenadine, jaconet, organdy, tulle, tarlatan, or whatever other names they went by, were as much in request as silk stuffs, and the manufacturers outbid one another in producing novelties in these

Les Modes Parisiennes 1857

Les Modes Parisiennes 1857

diaphanous and open-worked fabrics. In 1852 appeared the "crystallised" gauze, which was woven of two different shaded gauzes; there was tarlatan sewn with gold and silver stars, tulle with embroidered garlands of flowers, printed muslins, coarse-grained Chambéry gauze; and these

. . . Vous pouvez entrer, cher baron . . . entre, nous, pas de géne.
. . . Mais c'est que . . . au contraire . . . je ne puis . . . et je ne comprends pas comment vous êtes entrée vous-mêmes ! ! —*Vernier*

airy materials, which were generally mounted on silks of like colour, gave the wearer in very truth the appearance of the floating cloud with which beauties were then so fond of comparing themselves. And the most fashionable lady might wear these light fabrics with ease of mind, for they were in the end quite as costly as silk; a white dress with flounces could never be worn more than once, its freshness was gone then; and when, as in 1859, the dress had reached its largest circumference, a tulle dress consisting of four skirts, each trimmed with ruches, required 1100 yards, the amount of material needed quite making up for its cheapness.

These delightfully light and airy costumes, however, had their danger, for they burnt like tinder if by mischance they happened to catch fire. At no time have so many deaths from burning been recorded as during the period when these wide skirts and flimsy materials were in vogue. In 1851 the Duchesse de Maillé was burnt to death as

she sat by the fireside of a friend in the castle of Rocheguyon; the actress Emma Livry met with a like hideous death on the stage; in 1856 the Princess Royal, later the Empress Frederick, set her large sleeve on fire while sealing a letter, and was badly burnt; in 1867 the Archduchess Mathilde, daughter of the Archduke Albrecht, being caught smoking, set her dress on fire trying to hide her cigarette in its folds, and was burnt to death. But the most terrible catastrophe of all was the burning of the Cathedral at Santiago in 1863, when the drapery with which it was hung, there being a special Church festival at the time, caught fire, and the flames quickly spreading among the light dresses of the congregation, two thousand women were burnt to death.

Photograph 1858

Dress and sleeves were of such dimensions that any kind of cloak was impossible, and scarves, shawls, and other light wraps were worn instead. The long, scarf-shaped Cashmere shawl had given place to the square shawl, and the fancy pattern to a Turkish, but the Cashmere still remained in great request and as costly as ever. Bismarck writes in 1858 that no genuine Cashmere shawl could be got for less than 1200 to 1500 francs, even though a dangerous rival had appeared in the crêpe-de-chine shawl. This light, soft, bright, and durable shawl, richly embroidered in silk, and edged with a heavy knotted silk fringe, was the delight of every

Le Follet 1858

woman of taste, and there being no possibility of imitating it, it continued to hold its place as an aristocratic item of the toilette.

Besides the shawl there was the mantilla, which has oftener undergone a change of name than a change of cut; it was made of chameleon-taffeta, of shaded grenadine, of velvet and lace, and called a "camail," a "crispine," a "cardinal," a "redowa"; then as the fashion became more general it was known in turns as "Arragonaise" or "Andalusian half-cloak"; cut as well as material were borrowed from abroad.

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1855

In 1846 the Swedish cape was worn, in 1848 the Moldavian mantle; these were quickly followed by the Algerian burnous, the Arab bedouin, the Russian bashlik, and the Scottish plaid, to which James Logan's works had drawn attention and which again came into fashion after the visit of the Empress Eugénie to her maternal home.

The whole style of the dress that we have endeavoured to describe gave a fantastic, grotesque, and pretentious

An Artist à la Mode

appearance to the women. There was an arrogance about it in a twofold sense, for not only did it necessitate an unremitting attention to the toilette, but it obliged the men, who were quite lost to view between the crinolines, to retire completely into the background. Madame Carette, one of the chief ladies about the Empress Eugénie's court, has given an amusing description of the dress of the period: "The style of dress which prevailed during the first years of the Empire was truly remarkable. The fashionable ladies

of to-day, who like to make themselves look as slim as possible, would be horrified if they had to appear enveloped in such a mass of material, which being further held out by a steel framework reached such a circumference, that it was almost impossible for three ladies to sit together in one small room. The whole dress was built up of judiciously adjusted draperies composed of fringes, ruches, laces, and pleatings, and ended in a long train which

Lami *"Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée."*

made it difficult to move about in a crowded room. It was a mixture of all styles—Greek models were associated with the paniers of Louis XVI.'s time; the basquine worn by the amazons of the Fronde with the hanging sleeves of the Renaissance. It must have been more difficult then, I imagine, to make oneself look attractive, and in order to preserve some charm of appearance it was necessary to watch one's every movement carefully, to walk with a gliding step, and to supply the elegance lacking to the outline by a certain yieldingness of figure. In looking at the pictures of that time one under-

Photograph 1859

stands that it only required a mischievous hand to exaggerate some of the features—and the caricature was complete! Grace and distinction, words of which we know nothing nowadays, were then the marks of an insuperable barrier between the classes. No doubt for a clever woman it was possible to turn all this marvellous attire to the advantage of her person. It was not easy for a woman to walk with such a mass of material to carry along with her, and the slender figure rising from the midst of these voluminous adornments must have looked as if it had no connection with the rest of the body; but as to sitting, it was a pure matter of art to prevent the steel hoops from getting out of place. To step into a carriage without crushing the light tulle and lace fabrics required a long time, very quiet horses, and a husband of extraordinary patience! To travel, to lie down, to play with the children, or indeed merely to shake hands or take a walk with them—these were problems which called for great fondness and much good will for their solution. It was about this time that it gradually went out of fashion for a man to offer his arm to a lady when he wished to accompany her."

The writer in another place tells of the terrible catastrophes that took place when ladies with their gigantic skirts were assembled in a room full of fancy tables; we

Photograph 1859

can well understand that in her time the generation had grown tired of crinolines. The absurdity and discomfort of them and the vanity of the women brought about their abolition. In the very year in which crinolines had reached their largest circumference, in January 1859, a report was spread by the papers throughout Europe that the Empress Eugénie had appeared at a court ball without a crinoline! This was an event which completely overshadowed the famous New Year's speech of Napoleon to Baron Hübner! It hardly seemed possible—and yet in the autumn of the same year, when the invitations were being issued for Compiègne, the Empress spoke the word—No crinoline! It was echoed without delay from England—Queen Victoria had also abjured the crinoline. In 1860, at Longchamps, the parade of fashion, not a single crinoline was to be seen. It was still alive, however, for the crinoline had merely changed its shape and was not altogether dead as believed, as we gather from later announcements which no longer produced such a startling effect. In 1864 it is reported from Vienna: the Empress Elisabeth has definitely put aside her crinoline; and in 1866 from Paris: the Empress Eugénie no longer wears a crinoline. So one may look on the year 1860 as the turning-point, after which the crinoline suffered the fate of all fashions and gradually disappeared. Vanity, of course,

PORTRAIT OF THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE

FRANZ XAVER WINTERHALTER

In the possession of Madame Gardner, Paris

Engraving published by the Photographic Union, Munich

Constantin Guys A Study

had something to do with it, for women felt that they no longer wished to hide their light under a bushel and were anxious to show that the beauty of their figures did not suddenly end at the waist.

The first innovation was the lowering of the steel hoops so that they did not begin immediately below the bodice, but only at the knees; in this way the dress fitted round the hips and only began to grow wider below the knees. Simultaneous alterations took place in other directions. The train followed as a natural consequence of this growing tendency towards increased slimness of figure, and the dress was now tight to the figure as far as the knees, then [illegible]

Constantin Guys ON THE PROMENADE

fell in rich folds behind in a train, which added considerably to the height of the whole figure. This desire for slenderness of form led to the introduction of the Princess dress, in which bodice and skirt were all in one piece, the style being known as the "Gabriel." Hardly had the train reappeared before it began to assume exaggerated dimensions and lay yards long on the ground—even a day dress for indoor wear and walking frequently had a train of one to two yards long. Moltke, writing to his wife in 1865, describes the toilette of the Empress Elisabeth, "who wore a simple white dress, but of such a width and length that only with the greatest precaution could Prince Frederick Charles give her his arm." Simultaneously with the long train, the short walking-dress also came into fashion. The

Les Modes Parisiennes 1859

two fought for pre-eminence during a course of several years. The inconvenience of the long dress, as well as the objection to it on the score of cleanliness, necessitated the use of the "page," an elastic band with which we still remember that our mothers looped up their skirts; and this led to other inventions, such as the *porte jupe Pompadour*, which was invisibly inserted and allowed the skirt to be drawn up in four places, this again leading to the wearing of coloured underskirts. In 1857 the first red underskirt was seen; in 1859 it was followed by a black silk, and by a grey English woollen petticoat with a bright pattern upon it, known as the Albanesian; and since it was now the general fashion to wear coloured petticoats, not only to save the white ones but in order that the former might be seen, it was naturally not long before the short dress-skirt was also brought into vogue.

The introduction of the walking-skirt has been associated with the Empress Eugénie's journey to Savoy in 1860; but it

Lami THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT

was worn before then, for the order for Compiègne in 1859 was that the dress was to be short enough to show the feet a little. The longer the train grew, the shorter became the walking-skirt, and the higher were the dresses drawn up over the petticoat The white petticoat was now considered old-fashioned, the underskirts being made of all stuffs and colours; at Biarritz in 1861, for instance, a white lace dress was worn over a lilac and black woollen petticoat.

The immense sleeves went out with the crinoline, the former becoming long and tight; flounces also disappeared, their place being supplied by trimmings of braid, gimp, lace, ribbon, or ruchings. A fine woollen dress with guipure, cost 1000 francs in Paris in 1864; the braiding of a dress amounted sometimes to eighty thalers or more. Fur trimming was also greatly in fashion for full dress; two of the Tuileries toilettes in 1861 were much admired, one being of lemon-coloured velvet trimmed with sable, the other a pink moiré antique trimmed with astrachan. Skunk was first introduced at Leipzig in 1859. Great extravagance was lavished on the

THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE WITH HER LADIES-IN-WAITING

FRANZ XAVER WINTERHALTER. 1855. Versailles Museum

trimming of ball-dresses. In 1864 a tarlatan dress had six hundred to seven hundred yards of ruching for trimming; in 1865 tulle dresses, for which thirty-seven yards of material were required, were thickly sewn with small beetles, butterflies, dewdrops, little bells, spangles, mother of pearl, etc. The Empress Eugénie in 1862 wore a simple white tulle dress strewn with diamonds, the worth of which was estimated at two millions.

Feuerbach 1854-55

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

In 1866 the plain tunic appeared, in place of the dress drawn up over the petticoats, and the cut of this being copied from ancient models, it was known as the *peplum*. Skirt and tunic were made of different stuffs and were of different colours, and as such the dress was called the "Pauline Metternich costume." It was, moreover, the fashion at this time to have skirt, over-skirt, and paletot of the same stuff, while the hat, parasol, and shoes had to be of the same colour at least. Quite long and quite short dresses were equally worn, an anarchical condition of fashion.

With the change of cut came a change in the choice of materials. The heavier silks were superseded by lighter stuffs half-silk or fine wool; alpaca, known also as Chinese taffeta, was a favourite material, poplin, mohair, foulard, English velveteens, and raw silk, and for summer wear batiste and linen; for ball-dresses tulle and tarlatan remained the fashion,

Moritz v. Schwind 1860

From "On the Bridge"

for the factories were always producing novelties in this line, opalescent and shot fabrics, etc.

The year 1867 may be looked upon as the one in which the crinoline finally disappeared; "fashion is now without a rudder," bewailed the high-priest of the art of dress. But rudderless fashion soon set off in full sail in another direction.

In 1858 the crinoline reigned supreme, the lower part of the woman's figure having no more shape about it than a balloon; in 1868 the dress sat lightly to the figure and fell straight to the ground without a fold, and was still decent and reasonable.

But in 1878 the fashion of the light, plain dress had gone as far as it could, and it was reported of ladies of that time

Photograph 1860

Photograph 1860

Les Modes Parisiennes 1860

that they were obliged to bind their knees together when they walked to avoid splitting their dresses.

Photograph 1860

In 1868 the plain flat tunic began to be drawn up in panier fashion round the hips, and as this puffed it out at the back, a *tournure* (bustle) became necessary. The bodice, which was long and ended in a point, fitted tight round the figure above, while the exaggeratedly narrow skirt, the *cul de Paris*, betrayed every line of the figure below. Twenty years had sufficed to see fashion rush from one extreme to another, and when so renowned an æsthetic critic as Vischer, who had anathematised the crinoline, now twenty years later raises his voice against the impossible bustle, when he scolds, mocks, prays, implores, he only testifies to the fact that æstheticism has not yet found the key to the heart of fashion. He calls on sanity, on reason, on good taste, and has yet to learn that the verdict of these judges has no power over fashion.

One of the chief beauties of a woman is her hair, one of her chief arts the manner in which she dresses it; even the poorest woman, though she may have no means of making her dress attractive, can always add by her coiffure to the effectiveness of her personality; and so it has come to pass that fashion has always paid great attention to the style of hairdressing. At the beginning of the forties long curls on

Eduard Magnus PORTRAIT OF A LADY 1860

either side of the face were the fashion; on the Continent the style had been imported from England where it remained in vogue far into the following decade and long after it had been discarded by the rest of Europe. Our recollection of this fashion of wearing the hair is associated with certain old portraits, as that of Annette by Droste-Hülshoff; the style was soon generally given up. The hair was now parted down the middle, and drawn plainly, later in a thick roll, over the ears (the Madonna style) towards the back, where it was gathered into a net. About 1860 the hair began to be waved, and about 1865 it was done into

puffs at the top of the head and gathered into a chignon behind, this coiffure and the crinoline being the typical features of the fashion during the Second Empire. At first it hung low on the neck, this being the "Cadogan" style, then it was carried up the back of the head till it reached the top, generally accompanied with curls of different length which hung low and loosely down over the neck. The chignon, like the crinoline, gradually increased in size until it was nearly as large as the whole of the rest of the head; it became at this stage a subject of innumerable witticisms.

Photograph 1860

But the women of the forties, fifties, and sixties, like their mothers of the twenties and thirties, were not content with the natural adornment of their hair. The head-dress was such an essential item of feminine attire that novelties were introduced from day to day, fashion never tiring of suggesting some fresh ornament for the head; in 1848 the Parisian coiffeur, Croizat, who took his art seriously, collected all that it was possible to know or do with regard to this subject in a work which did not exceed five volumes. What did women not wear in their hair! Gold and silver fillers, silk and velvet ribbons, feathers, nets of gold thread or chenille, veils of blond lace worked in gold. The marriage

[illegible]

of Napoleon III. in 1853 brought the Spanish lace-mantilla into fashion in France; in 1854 the hair was powdered with gold and silver dust; in 1856 head-dresses of Peruvian feather-work were worn at the court in Madrid, a fashion to be lamented, since it robbed us of many of the valuable old specimens of an art now fallen into disuse.

Flowers being the most becoming of ornaments, artificial ones were among the favourite decorations of the hair. And what could have been chosen so capable of adaptability to every shade of hair and complexion and to every age as flowers, with their inexhaustible variety of colour and shape! It is one of the incomprehensible vagaries of fashion that this charming adornment has for so many years been almost entirely discarded. They were worn singly, in wreaths, in sprays; they were sprinkled with shining dew-drops; thousands of artificial flowers were combined in a thousand variety of ways, and if they made the pretty look prettier they made the ugly look uglier. Richard Wagner, writing in 1855 to his wife Minna from London, expresses his terror at the English women with red noses and spectacles who persist in wearing flowers and long curls. The coal-scuttle shape still prevailed in the millinery department; it enclosed the head, and the curtain which stood out at the back, while it protected, also hid the neck. The face was encircled with a cloud of gauze,

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1860

tulle, and lace of every colour of the rainbow; the crown of the bonnet was trimmed with flowers, feathers, fruits, while immensely broad scarf-like ribbons were tied under the chin and kept the whole erection in place. These pyramids, which lent an inordinate size to the head, began in 1856 to give way gradually to round hats. At first the latter, with immense brims, were only worn in the country, and were known as hats "à la Clarissa Harlowe"; in Berlin they received the name of "Pages' hats," and when lace was put round the brim that of "the last venture." The old shape was still the fashionable town-wear, until at last, together with the immense crinoline, it disappeared for ever (?) in 1860. The sailor's hat with a wide straight brim came into fashion, as also the south-wester, and the small round hat worn on the top of the head with a veil that just came down to the tip of the nose. The hat became smaller as the chignon grew larger, and when this encroached upon the top of the head it was perched forward over the forehead till it reached the nose. Strings were no longer worn, but in 1853 hat-pins were introduced (they were not then visible), while two long narrow velvet ribbons hung from the hat or chignon all the way down the back to the ground—"flirtation" ribbons, or, as they were called in Paris, "suivez moi, jeune homme."

A dress that leaves the neck and arms bare calls aloud for ornaments; these were worn both in the evening and in the daytime, and too many could not be put on at once. For day jewellery—amber, crystal, and Venetian glass beads, hair ornaments, Roman pearls, and coral beads; the latter becoming fashionable in 1845 when the Duchesse d'Aumale, born a princess of the Two Sicilies, was married, and introduced this product of Neapolitan industry into Paris. Bracelets, brooches and other ornaments were made in the shape of bows, and ornaments in general could not be too large or striking, enamels being effectively employed. It was indispensable to wear many bracelets on the arm; earrings were very long, consisting of several hanging ornaments; lockets were as large round as shields. In 1868 large gold crosses

Guys A Study

began to be worn, Adele Spitzeder never being seen without one; for evening-dress diamonds and other precious stones were worn by those who possessed them. Many ladies, among them the Princess Metternich, had their diamonds remounted every year, and taste was shown in the setting as much as in the stones. Those who have seen the crown jewels at Vienna —the diadems, necklaces, and bracelets, which were mounted, with the addition of Maria Theresa's diamonds, for the Empress Elisabeth —cannot fail even after a lapse of fifty years to admire the taste which understood so well how to show off the beauty of the stones; and the same taste might have been observed when, in 1887, the French crown diamonds were put-up to auction, and the Empress Eugénie's favourite ornaments again brought to view: there was the famous vine-leaf ornament, with its wreaths of more than 3000 larger and smaller diamonds, which fetched 1,172,000 francs; there was the comb composed of 208 large diamonds, bought for 642,900 francs; the girdle of pearls, sapphires, rubies, and emeralds, linked together with 2400 diamonds, which realised 166,000 francs; exquisite specimens of jewellery by Bapst, Krammer, Lemonnier, and one can well imagine how enchanting their beautiful owner looked in them. As a rule she preferred to display their dazzling splendour on a white tulle dress, and she would also venture to wear her diadems— the wonderful Russian tiara of 1200 diamonds, which fetched 180,000 francs, the Greek scroll-like one, and others—on her

Photograph 1860

Photograph 1861

flatly-dressed hair, a fashion followed by others whom it did not suit.

The wearing of precious stones naturally gave opportunity for vulgar display and lack of taste. Moltke in 1856 remarked that the Duchess of Westminister appeared at the drawing-room in diamonds which in size and cut were like chandelier globes. In 1869 the Duchesse de Mouchy wore diamonds worth two millions and Edmond de Goncourt was disgusted when the notorious Madame Pyra responded to his admiration of her clumps of emeralds—"Yes, they cost as much as would keep a whole family for some time."

Photograph 1861

After the democratic tendency of the nineteenth century had done away with all marked difference in the dress of the several classes, the more distinguished members of society indulged their taste for elegance in certain lesser items of the toilette, especially in the days when quantities of white petticoats were worn, these being richly trimmed with lace, embroidery, and openwork insertion. The pocket-handkerchief also gave opportunity for a show of luxury, especially as it was not, as its name would seem to indicate, hidden in the pocket, but carried in the lady's hand; this being so generally the fashion that Balzac declared the character of a woman could be best ascertained by the way she held her handker-

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1860

Claude Monet IN THE GARDEN

chief. It is no matter of surprise therefore that handkerchiefs cost 350 or 500 francs and upwards; and in 1859 they became notably more elaborate after the Empress Eugénie had wept violently during the performance of *Cinderella*, which obliged every lady in society to go and do likewise, and carry a handkerchief that was worth seeing to dry her tears.

Les Modes Parisiennes 1861

The dress-skirt growing shorter and shorter after 1860, more attention was naturally drawn to the stockings; simultaneously with the coloured petticoat, coloured stockings came into fashion, the first innovation being stockings of grey silk with red clocks, and then, manufacturers being started on this track, these were quickly superseded by specimens of more dashing variety.

Alfred Stevens LADY IN PINK

A loudness of dress and manner, first noticeable in Paris, can be accounted for at this time by the fact that the demi-monde was now more *en évidence*. The decency and propriety of the reputable citizen no longer prevailed; the light manners and easy style of life of the younger authors and artists, the students and grisettes, of the whole of this Bohemian world

Archduchess Gisela, eldest daughter of the Emperor Franz Joseph. (*Photograph*)

had become the fashion. The woman who gave the tone to this Bohemian class was the grisette, the girl who lived on and for love, round whom Théophile Gautier, Henry Murger, and others shed a seductive halo of poetry, and who soon became the favourite figure of French literature. During the Second Empire her place was taken by the courtesan, the type of woman then most often seen on the French stage, a sign of the moral degradation of that period. The Memoirs of Rigolboche, of Céleste Mogador, and other ladies of this class,

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." [illegible]

Les Modes Parisiennes 1863

became the favourite reading of society in general; and after the appearance of the younger Dumas' *Dame aux Camélias* at the Vaudeville in February 1852, the highly sentimental Marguérite Gautier became the acknowledged heroine par excellence. In 1855 was given the same author's *Le Demi-Monde,* with which he constituted himself the godfather of the world in which ennui is unknown; in 1858 followed Augier's *Les Lionnes Pauvres.* And why should those who looked so

delightful on the stage be content any longer to remain in obscurity in real life? What had once been a disgrace was no longer considered so; it became quite an honour to be seen abroad with one of these well-known ladies, even more to ruin oneself on her account. The Nanas brought shame and ruin to thousands belonging to the bourgeoisie, as if the sins of whole past generations were to be avenged on this one. The fame

Photograph 1863

of these women became world-wide; a Cora Pearl and others of her sort were spoken of with the same veneration as a Mac-Mahon or Canrobert. Blanche de Marconnay married a Bourbon, Lola Montez reigned in Bavaria, and endeavoured in vain, after she had been at last dismissed the country, to bring herself into note again by writing memoirs and dramas, in which she herself took a rôle. Count Gustav Charinsky, a member of one of the first families in Moravia, fell so helplessly into the toils of Julie von Ebergenyi, who concealed her calling under the title of *Canoness*, that he at last poisoned her, and

Alfred Stevens THE GLASS OF LEMONADE

became the wretched hero of one of the most sensational trials of the nineteenth century.

Hortense Schneider, who created the "beautiful Helena" and the "Archduchess of Gerolstein"; Madame Teresa, with her famous music-hall repertoire, "Rien n'est sacré pour un sappeur," "Vénus aux carottes," "La femme à barbe," introduced into the Tuileries by a famous princess—women such as these set the tone of Parisian society. Their manner

Constantin Guys A Group

of looking at things, and the aim of their life, were apparent in the way they dressed. The *genre canaille* became the fashion; extravagance of cut and colour, conspicuousness at any price, even at that of taste and decency.

The women's dress corresponded to the extravagance of their behaviour: crying colours, daring cut, masculine style of attire, men's paletots, men's collars, and cravats, and walking-sticks. They wore military coats of yellow velvet with Chinese embroidery, red velvet mantles trimmed with black lace, black tulle dresses with gold lace; they went back to the caracos of their great-grandmothers and chose to have them of flame-red satin, studded with gigantic steel buttons or hung with cut glass; they indulged in bizarreries,

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1863

Alfred Stevens MISS FAUVETTE

as the Diana bodice, which left one shoulder uncovered; and added to this, their hair had to be red like a "cow's tail," and curled like a lap-dog's, *en bouton frisé* or *en caniche*.

The blame of this voluntary hideousness of dress has been laid on the Empress Eugénie. According to one anecdote the Emperor of Austria once intimated to her his personal dislike of the short skirt, for which she was supposed to be responsible. In 1867, while at Salzburg, the Empress Eugénie, who was going for a drive with the Emperor and Empress, stepped into the carriage first, dressed in an extremely coquettish short skirt; the Empress Elisabeth in a long trailing gown, was just preparing to step in after her, when Franz Joseph

Miroir Parisien 1864

exclaimed, "Take care, or some one may catch sight of your feet." But all who saw the Empress Eugénie seem to have been agreed not only as to her beauty, but as to her grace and taste. She preferred soft colours--shades of pearl-grey, sapphire-blue, mauve, maize; and for her evening toilettes, which Worth supplied, plain white. Her day dresses were made by Laferrière, her hats by Madame Virot and by Lebel, her coiffeur was Leroy; and she permitted any outrageous style to the last as little as she did to her modistes. Her good taste was so generally acknowledged that on the occasion of the coronation festivals at Königsberg, Queen Augusta of Prussia asked

Whistler MISS ALEXANDER

Eugénie as a special favour to allow her lady hairdresser to come to her.

The accusation of extravagance made against Eugénie, it being said that she never put on the same dress more than once, is not corroborated by the ladies of her court. It is true that when she went to the opening of the Suez Canal, which entailed an absence of several months in the East, she took two hundred and fifty dresses with her; but these may have been necessary owing to the number of social claims upon her and the many times she had to appear in public. At that time even private persons considered a frequent change of dress incumbent upon them; one hears frequently of fashionable visitors to Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden, and other places

Le Moniteur de la Mode 1865

of resort, who during a stay of six to eight weeks, were never seen twice in the same dress, and those who were invited to Compiègne were obliged to take three changes of toilette for each day of the week their visit lasted. The Empress was one of the most maligned women of the nineteenth

Alfred Stevens ON THE BALCONY 1869 (?)

EMPRESS ELISABETH OF AUSTRIA
(*Photograph*)

century, but it should not be forgotten by those interested in the woman's movement, that she was the first to employ women in the public service; it was during her regency in 1866 that she began by allowing them to be engaged in the telegraph offices.

As there were those who carried the fashions of the day to extremes, so there were others who tried to simplify them. All efforts towards a reform in women's dress naturally began with the corset. In 1848 a dress was proposed that should do away with the corset entirely; in 1863 a Greek girdle was worn in its stead, but the discomfort arising from its total abolition caused these modest attempts to prove futile.

"LES MODES PARISIENNES." 1863

Photograph 1866

In 1853 Dr. Bock opened a campaign in the *Gartenlaube*, not with the purpose of inducing women to discard the corset altogether, but to persuade them to correct its shape; and even Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, of Seneca Falls, Ohio, in introducing her new style of dress in 1851, did not insist on giving up the corset. This lady's reform consisted in the wearing of large oriental trousers, and in the shortening and narrowing of the dress skirt, but she did not meet with much encouragement. Mrs. Bloomer came over as a smart American to London, where the propagation of her views created quite a stir—there were Bloomer and anti-Bloomer meetings—but even the few disciples she had fell away when the owner of a large

Schwind 1866

PORTRAIT OF HIS DAUGHTER ANNA

London brewery dressed all his barmaids in Bloomer costume. As with us a few years ago, the reform dress was doomed when lady artists of all ages went slopping about in it. The second wife of Émile Ollivier, who had been previously married to Blandine Liszt and who played such an unfortunate part in 1870, had, as Madame Carette somewhat maliciously reports, the courage to adopt a style of her own as regards dress; in what direction she introduced innovations is not divulged—perhaps in kindness to the wearer. These personal peculiarities of costume were generally proof of greater courage than taste.

There is little to be said as regards male attire during these years. The cut and colour of men's clothes have remained up to the present day much the same as they were in the period preceding the one of which we are writing. To the

Photograph 1867

frock and tailed coat had been added since 1850 the short jacket; since 1867 the double-breasted sakko, the introduction of which was attributed to the Prince of Wales, but it had in reality been worn when he was still a child. The colours were dark, and the pattern striped or checked, black being worn for dress suits; only the waistcoat still remained for a while coloured, sometimes even made of Scotch plaid. This fashion gradually disappeared after it became general to have coat, trousers, and waistcoat of the same colour and material, only to be revived a generation later. There have been changes, however, in the cut of men's clothes; for some time the trousers were shaped like those of French soldiers, wide at the hips and narrow at the ankles; then they were made tight to the knees to swell in bell-shaped fashion below.

In 1853 Napoleon III. reintroduced pumps at court; waistcoats and coats were made to button higher or lower at the top. About 1860 the waist was cut extremely low, but from that time the tendency has been to make male attire as little conspicuous as possible, men preferring to have nothing

Empress Elisabeth (*Photograph*)

peculiar about their dress to draw attention to them. Only at home does the gentleman indulge in coloured or gold-laced velvet, silk or cashmere; when he appears in public by the superior cut of his garments only may he venture to aim at any distinction; if the male attire thereby loses in effect, it gains in tone.

ARCHDUCHESS ELISABETH OF AUSTRIA
(*Photograph*)

The leaders of fashion in men's dress in the fifties and sixties were the members of the Jockey Club in Paris, the same who in 1862 interrupted the Tannhäuser performances in so startling a manner. The Club conferred the perfume known by its name upon society, for the cleanliness which rendered perfume unnecessary only became the fashion later on; it also created the type of young masher who received the title of "cocodès." Side by side with the courtesan in her half-mannish dress was the corresponding man in his half-womanish costume, curled, laced in, and scented like her, with the same over-tight short jacket, over-small hat, and

Eduard Monet 1862

CONCERT IN THE TUILERIES GARDENS DURING THE SECOND EMPIRE

over-thin cane. About this time the men also began to wear bracelets; Mme. Carette remarked one for the first time on the Emperor Alexander II.'s arm when the latter visited the Empress Eugénie at Schwalbach.

The elegance of the men was chiefly displayed in their linen. As with the women, embroidered handkerchiefs were articles of luxury, and in 1856 in Leipzig a dozen cost 96 thalers and more. The stand-up collar and the soft shirt collar with the broad necktie were superseded in the sixties by the starched detached collar and the narrow tie. For country or seaside visits the men began in 1850 to put on white suits, of nankeen, foulard, or alpaca. With these they wore the Hungarian hat, a straw biretta with turned-up brim, and two long ribbon streamers behind; for all other occasions the chimney-pot hat was still in vogue. The latter had undergone variations in crown and brim as far as its form allowed, but its rights had not been infringed upon—the less so, as in the forties and fifties the wearing of it was taken as a sign of certain political convictions. Heinrich Laube has amusingly described how the fashion of

James Tissot MOTHER AND DAUGHTER IN THE PARK

Claude Monet PORTRAIT OF A LADY 1866

"LE MONITEUR DE LA MODE." 1868

Anselm Feuerbach 1867

PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST'S STEPMOTHER

men's hats followed the prevailing political tone of the day. As democracy spread, the more fashionable it became to wear the soft felt hat with a wide brim; the higher the tide of revolution rose in 1848 and 1849, the more curved and flowing grew its shape, but when reactionary forces were again at the helm, the tall hat became higher and stiffer than ever. The carbonari hat was looked upon with suspicion; and when Liszt, who travelled from Switzerland in 1853 in a soft grey felt given him by Wagner, appeared in the same at Karlsruhe, he had some difficulty with the police.

The beard went through similar vicissitudes. To be clean shaven was the sign of a sober, Government-supporting disposition; so much so that in Prussia in 1846 young barristers and post-office clerks were forbidden to wear a moustache.

Adolf Menzel 1888

From "Service in the Buchenhalle at Bad Kosen"

When Friedrich Hebbel in 1847 sent his portrait to his acquaintances, he had to make long-winded excuses for his beard: it was, he assured them, the fashion to wear one in the larger German towns. As the unrest grew greater the beard became an indication of the wearer's sentiments; the wilder and more unkempt it appeared the more liberal his convictions. When, shortly after, the determined heroes of liberty arrived in England from Germany, Poland, Russia, and Hungary, adorned with this masculine appendage, the English, so Malwida von Meysenbug maliciously relates, laughed at them in the most unceremonious manner.

It was natural that a movement which had so deep and lasting an effect on the life of the middle classes as that of 1848, should to some degree influence the fashion of dress. The German tricolour—the black, red, and gold—was to be

Menzel MEISSONIER IN HIS STUDIO 1869

Miroir Parisien 1867

seen in ribbons, sashes, cravats, brooches, and cockades; and the republican ladies of Vienna made a vow only to wear the German colours in their hats. The desire to blend politics with national affairs, which we have seen active in the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, and even in earlier times, once more took possession of the people. In 1848 the women of Elberfeld issued a proclamation to the effect that in the future

Carolus Duran

THE LADY WITH THE GLOVE

Germans should wear clothes made of materials manufactured in Germany, and the *Allgemeine österreichische Zeitung* pleaded for a national costume—waistcoat, jacket, and feathered cap.

Richard Wagner wrote to his Minna from Vienna in July 1848, that political enthusiasm at that time was even displayed in dress, not only by the women, whose hats were all trimmed with the tricolour, but by the director of the Vienna theatre, who had clothed the attendants from top to toe in black, red, and gold. It was a long time before people became convinced that they might remain loyal to their principles and yet dress like others. Manly indepen-

Geyling SKATING

dence in those days did not feel it could properly express itself in full dress, and it was some years later still that Hübner describes a ball at the Tuileries, when the deputies of the left bore testimony to their advanced views by their attire.

The year 1848 in Germany found a national costume as unacceptable as the year 1813; not till fifty years later did we see the introduction of a general attire not officially commanded, but apparently emanating from the very heart of the people themselves. We watch with pride the youth of the day preaching the discarding of linen for underwear—among the retired châlets of the Alps, on the asphalt of the large towns, on the parquetted flooring of the Kursaal,

Janet *La Mode Artistique* 1872

Janet *La Mode Artistique* 1872

Claude Monet THE GARDEN SEAT

by the shores of the sea; he brings to Germany the glad tidings of flannel, which it demands some measure of faith to render pleasing to the olfactory nerves.

"PETIT COURRIER DES DAMES." 1868

1877

1878

La Mode Artistique

1878

K. L. Schüttner 1843

CHAPTER IV

The rush and turmoil of modern life of which we hear such continual complaints began during the forties—we might almost fix the date at 1848—and may be chiefly accounted for by the increased facility in written and personal intercourse, and by the development of the periodical press, both of which have so fundamentally altered the conditions of private and public life.

Already under the First Empire communication between places far removed from one another had been possible by means of the optic telegraph, and that within a comparatively short space of time. In 1802 a message could be sent to Paris from Strasburg and an answer received within forty-five minutes; but this roundabout method (there were forty-two stations with operators between the two places just mentioned), of which we, now living, know most from *Monte Christo,* was but child's play to the electric telegraph, which has since 1848 gradually spread its network over Europe. Since then only a few minutes, instead of days or weeks, have been required to ascertain how things are going on

THE GAME OF CHESS

over the whole of the old world, and this has accelerated all matters concerned with commerce and finance. All parts of Europe being now in such close touch with one another, some more enterprising spirits undertook to establish com-

Kaulbach A Party at Fink's

Ph. Foltz
Fernley
Borum
Stange
Morgenstern
Kaufmann

munication with the new world, and towards the end of the fifties the laying of the first submarine cable was begun; after many attempts had failed, communication with America was at last achieved in 1864, and only minutes were thenceforth required for the exchange of ideas between the two continents. Telegraphing became so general that it served even for amusement; at a dinner given by the Russian Princess P—— in 1863 in Paris, the guests, who were from all parts of the world, each sent a message home before the soup and received an answer as they were at dessert.

It took longer to bring railways into such general use. In

1852 there were as yet only 4000 kilometres of rail in France, and the lines ran only on the plains. The first mountain railway was the one constructed over the Semmering, 1854; in 1867 it was carried over the Brenner, and in 1871 the Mont

Daumier THE LOCAL LINE

Cenis was opened. This new mode of travelling was not at first a very speedy one to our modern ideas. Moltke wrote joyfully to his wife in 1841 that in future he would be able to get from Hamburg to Berlin in nine hours, and in 1846 was equally delighted that it took him only twelve hours to travel from Paris to Brussels.

At first also the travellers suffered a considerable amount of discomfort; they were obliged, for one thing, to wear spectacles to protect their eyes from the sparks and smoke from the engine, for the carriages were partly open. Regarding other inconveniences the least said the better; but those

Baron von Knaller FASHIONABLE ICE-EATERS (*Kranzlerecke*, 1848)

who had to travel with young children, as Bismarck did in 1852 with Herr von Krusenstern and family, could tell of the joys of a long journey. Sleeping cars were first introduced into Europe in 1857 on the Paris-Orleans line: corridor dining and sleeping carriages were general improvements which could only be thought about after the network of trains running from north to south and from east to west had been completed, and that was not before the sixties. As long as far journeys had to be accomplished partly by rail and partly by stage-coach, speed and comfort remained far behind what we consider as such. In 1846, for instance, Moltke still took seven days and seven hours to reach Potsdam from Rome: his brother Ludwig in 1845, twenty-four hours from Kiel to Nuremberg; and Jakob Falke, who wanted to get from Ratzeburg to Erlangen, a complicated journey accomplished with the help of carriage, boat, train, and coach, had to wait three days on the Elbe boat. Affairs were but slightly improved during the next ten years. Richard Wagner writes to Minna in 1850 complaining of the hideous delays and discomforts attending the journey from Baden to Geneva; Gabrielle von Bülow in 1857 was two weeks on the way from Rome to Berlin, and we can imagine

H. Schultz PREPARING FOR THE DUEL 1852

what this meant to her, for she was hastening to the deathbed of a beloved daughter. Travelling by rail made its way so slowly among the people that even in 1831, when the travelling expenses of the Prussian deputies were being calculated, no mention was made of the railway, which might as well have never existed; and Roon in 1860 was the first to take into consideration the use of the railways for the transport of troops in case of war.

Letters were of course as long on their road as travellers. Moltke's letters to his wife from Paris in 1846 took fourteen days to reach her in Holstein; and even so late as 1856 letters were ten days reaching London from Berlin, while the rate of postage was enormous. When in Paris, in 1842, letters from his wife in Dresden cost Richard Wagner 1s. 4d. each, and Theodor Fontane paid 7d. for letters sent from Berlin to London in 1856. We are not surprised that people even into the seventies took opportunities of sending letters in some other way than by post. As late as 1868 Moltke speaks of it as one blessing due to the North German Confederation, that a letter could now be sent from the Black Forest to Lübeck for a penny. To the expense of postage was added the uncertainty of delivery. Post censorship was then looked upon as such a natural thing,

C'te Chaloupe!
(*From "Les petits mordent."—Gavarni.*)

that when, for instance, one Cabinet did not wish to make a direct suggestion to another, it wrote a letter to its own ambassador, and, it being so generally allowed that such letters were opened and read in transit, the foreign Cabinet was thereafter understood to be perfectly aware of the matter. All letters written at that time were therefore full of concealed allusions: the Countess Maria Potocka uses veiled words to express her opinions in her letters to the Princess Carolyne Wittgenstein; Leopold and Ludwig von Gerlach correspond in a sort of cipher. Malwida von Meysenbug complains in 1850 that all letters are read by the Berlin

SUNDAY MORNING IN SPRING

VIKTOR PAUL MOHN. National Gallery, Berlin

Browne THE DANCING LESSON (*Ethical Humour*)

Home Music

police, and Bismarck, with the delightful candour of speech which characterised him, writes in 1851 from Frankfurt to Frau von Puttkammer about the "idiots who break open these letters."

And not only were letters read by those for whom they were not intended, sometimes they were kept back altogether; the Grand-Duke Constantine of Russia boasted of owning the largest collection extant of confiscated letters. Hinckeldey, the head of the police in Berlin, bribed the servants of Niebuhr and of the Adjutant-General von Gerlach, so as to obtain copies of their correspondence; Friedrich Hebbel wrote to Ludwig Gurlitt, and Bismarck to his wife in 1847, advising them not to send their letters post-paid, as the stamped ones were sure to be stolen; and these warnings were unexpectedly proved not to be superfluous, for in Vienna, in 1862, the post-office clerk, Karl Kallab, seized an official who had stolen thousands of letters.

In 1845 we find the first half-ironical notice that old

Lami LA LOGE DE L'OPÉRA

postage stamps were being collected in England; and about the same time the familiar advertisement appeared—a hoax known even in our own days—stating that some one, generally a poor schoolmaster, had been able to buy himself a piano from the proceeds of the million old stamps he had collected.

The work of the intelligence department, which had become of immense importance, was of the greatest advantage to the press; it increased the circulation of the papers, and when the political conditions of 1848 brought them into exceptional demand, the activity of the daily press far exceeded that of our own time sixty years later. Before the March of 1848 Austria only had twenty-six daily papers; in 1849 the number had already increased to 364, and in Germany there were over 1500 political papers. If we consider for a moment what it meant to circulate this mass of literature all at once among a populace as yet politically undeveloped, we shall understand the confusion it worked in these [illegible] a confusion worse confounded on account of the writers having

as often as not no clearer conception of what they meant than their readers. And where, indeed, could a sufficient number of qualified and uncorrupt writers have been found to satisfy this daily demand for news? It became more and more impossible,

Pamela ! ta mère a été ma femme de chambre !
(*From "Les Lorettes vieillies."—Gavarni.*)

and one can understand how the substantial citizen who had his feelings wounded from day to day by anonymous writers, and saw his interests threatened, should have ended by mistrusting the whole class, and have occasionally expressed his contempt for it in such words as: "A journalist is a man who has missed his vocation." Newspapers were so entirely given

"LA MODE ARTISTIQUE"

Walking Costume

over to party politics that not only the affairs of the day, but such matters as science, art, music, and literature, were entirely judged according to a preconceived opinion; every spark of

C'est grave à penser, chère Madame, mais la seule chose que les maris de beaucoup d'honnêtes femmes puissent trouver chez ces drolesses et non dans le menage . . . c'est d'être dupe.

(*From "Les maris me font toujours rire."—Gavarni.*)

truth was smothered under a mass of intentional misrepresentation, conscious lies and cleverly distorted facts. Who can blame Richard Wagner—and no one ever suffered more than he did at the hands of the press—when he writes: "None but beggarly scoundrels ever write for the papers; we can

Corot UNE SOIRÉE

only exclaim after reading any one of them, as Marshal Soult did over an account of a battle which he had himself drawn up—'I could almost think that all this was true.'" This feeling gave the impulse to the comic papers which began now to appear, such as the *Fliegende Blätter*, 1845, the *Kladderadatsch*, 1848, and the English *Punch*, in which the public were satirically treated to an image of truth in opposition to the lying distortions of the daily press. They were the true enlighteners of the people whom they saved by their laughter-compelling satire - the *Kladderadatsch* in 1848, the *Simplizissimus* in 1908. Commerce profited as much as, if not more than, the press from the increased facility of communication; and if to Louis Philippe and his ministers statesmanship were a matter of business, profitable if cleverly managed, the spread of the electric telegraph rendered politics even more dependent on the money-market. The great financiers had a finger in all affairs of State, and simple matters were complicated by diplomatists, plain facts obscured, speeches made, telegrams exchanged, articles written, all on account of some rise or fall

Art and A Symphony 1848–49

Dorner FRAU MATHILDE WESENDONK

in the stocks. The money-market was the pulse of public opinion at least for statesmen; Baron Hübner carefully follows every movement of it. In 1855 the Emperor Nicholas dies and, heaven be praised, French Government stock rises suddenly to 6 per cent.; in 1857 Moltke comes to a right conclusion concerning the public security of the State from the steady rate of exchange in Prussian stock.

The impulse given to commerce led to wild speculative schemes, some of which collapsed as easily as a house of cards. Gigantic undertakings, such as the construction of railways across half a continent, led to the formation of joint-stock companies like the renowned Crédit Mobilier of the

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

ALBERT VON KELLER. 1874

In the possession of Ed. Guggenheimer, Esq., Munich

Vill. Wild

BESIDE THE FOUNTAIN IN THE TUILERIES GARDENS (*Detail*)
(*South Kensington Museum*)

brothers Périere in Paris, known in the fifties as the gambling-hell of Europe; speculators came to the fore, such as Jules Mirès in Paris, Stroussberg in Berlin, who for years juggled with millions, until one fine day Government loans, railway-bonds, coupon-sheets and talons were found to be what they really were—only bits of paper. Hundreds and thousands were ruined, but over these ruined lives others still thronged to the Exchange where alone large fortunes could be quickly and easily made.

The race for money became in the middle of the nineteenth century the distinctive feature of society; the facility of travelling, the ease of telegraphic communication, had released the merchant from all restrictions of time and space, and with the added improvements in every branch of technique, there was nothing to prevent him making any amount of profit. The thirst for gold spread like a disease among mankind; crowds of adventurers flocked from every land to seek their fortunes in the Californian goldfields; extra vessels were fitted up at Hamburg in 1849 on which men for 130 thalers could take their passage to the land where gold was said to be lying about the streets! Thousands only paid for the voyage out—few of them returned. Never before had people been so blinded and maddened by the glitter of gold and so deaf to all calls of duty and conscience. The highest judge in France, the president of the court of appeal, allows himself to accept a bribe of 94,000 francs; the Austrian Field-Marshal, Freiherr von Eynatten, is inveigled into the net of the Jewish army-contractors, Hermann Jung and Moses Basevi, and betrays his government and army. Even objects which were necessary to well-being and daily life were turned to account for the sake of getting hold of money without trouble. Who does not remember with amusement the tale of the tailor Tomaschek of Berlin, who in November 1848 had his ironing-board buried, in order to get his life assurance of 10,000 thalers; a harmless crime in comparison with that of William Palmer and David Wainwright, who in 1856 each poisoned one of his relatives

Schwind A Party at Play

Martineau THE LAST DAY IN THE OLD HOUSE 1862

for the same purpose; or that of Therese Braun, who at Staatz, in 1857, actually killed her own beautiful daughter of sixteen that she might get possession of the 5000 florins for which the the girl was insured.

The crime of arson shrunk into insignificance beside such deeds as these, but a great commotion was caused by the destruction of the Grimsel hospice, which the farmer Peter Zybach purposely burnt down on 5 November, 1852; as also by the burning of the castle of Meder, near Coburg, the owner of which, Herr von Kienbusch, himself set light to the building for the sake of getting the fire insurance. And if well-to-do people of position sought to make speedy profits by such ill-considered means, can we wonder that the poor did likewise? In 1869 Adele Spitzeder of Munich opened her Dachau Bank for the benefit of the peasants and working people, and as she gave 96 per cent. interest she was bankrupt at the end of five years, the deficit amounting to ten

Boudin TROUVILLE

million gulden; the millions thus lost had been saved up penny by penny by the victims.

While the mass of the population were thus engaged in their dance around the golden calf, seeking for money and enjoyment, there were earnest-minded men and women who clung to what still remained of good and lasting amid the caprices of the time. Though many fancied that belief had finally given way before the materialism of Moleschott, Büchner, and Karl Vogt, the mother churches were on the contrary gathering fresh strength, notwithstanding the numerous sects that had arisen. Those who greeted a new Luther in Ronge, and trusted that German Catholicism would prove a deathblow to the Romish Church, lived to see Pius IX. acquire new victories for his Church, that same Pius, whom Young Italy had once looked to as a deliverer, and who had been elected Pope, not in spite of his being, but because he was, a liberal.

In 1848 a catastrophe befell the authority of the State for which it had itself to blame, and from which it has not since recovered. If governments, however, had fallen, some kind of order was still necessary, and where were men to look for a foothold if not in the Church? The Church has always suffered during long periods of peace from a cooling of zeal which revives in the stress of warfare; and the year that saw the Pope's flight from Rome saw also an awakening in the Catholic Church—amid the changing conditions of the material world, many turned for support to that unchanging refuge. In England the Romish Church regained power sufficiently for Parliament and the universities to concern themselves about it; in France Montalembert, Louis Veuillot and others aroused the general multitude from its indifference; in 1858 Lourdes became a new centre of devout enthusiasm, while the State gave over its schools, and with them its future, into the hands of the Church.

This revival of spiritual life led the Church to assume more power. In 1854 the Pope announced the dogma of the immaculate conception; in 1864 he set himself with syllabus and encyclical

Manet

THE PICNIC

(Durand-Ruel Collection, Paris

1866

Böttcher A Summer Night by the Rhine

in opposition to the views of the modern world, and in 1870 he put a crown to his work by making his own infallibility a matter of faith. The Church was now the *ecclesia triumphans* of the promise, and crowds of converts thronged its doors. The Princess Olga Narischkin became a sister of mercy and devoted her life to the care of the sick; the Countess Hahn-Hahn renounced fame and position and retired into the cloister, where for thirty years she gave herself up to good works; the Princess Carolyne Wittgenstein also dedicated herself to the Church. Bismarck in his struggle with the Catholic Church involuntarily gave it a political power which it had not previously possessed; it was the power of the Idea, which is beyond the reach of judge and police. The Protestant Church in Germany suffered from want of unity. The memoirs of the brothers von Gerlach tell us of efforts made to bring the evangelists into concord with one another, but pietists, pantheists, and other sects

"LA MODE ARTISTIQUE." 1873. Walking Costume

Schwind SCHUBERT EVENING AT THE HOUSE OF RITTER VON SPAUN

could not comfortably live together under one roof. It is, however, the Protestant Church we have to thank for the impulse given to home mission work.

The world was confessedly divided into Christians and non-Christians; but both parties were equally filled with a longing after the supernatural and its outward and miraculous manifestations. As David Friedrich Strauss, L. Feuerbach, and others were busy turning the faithful out of their enlightened house, superstition walked in at the back door and delighted its followers with marvellous phenomena of a fourth dimension. Society gave itself up to spiritualism and hypnotism, table-turning and spirit-rapping, and the faithful received communications of inconceivable banality from departed spirits.

Men and women of all classes fell helplessly into the toils of the more skilful practitioners; the American, Home, kept the Court circle at the Tuileries spellbound, and had at last to be forcibly banished the country in order to put a stop to his influence; somnambulists and mediums were found everywhere carrying on their dual existences, and as rivals to these were others who exercised their art under a pretended appearance of piety. In 1848, the miracle-worker, Louise Braun, who was only a girl, attracted men and women into the streets of Berlin by the help of her angel Jonathum, healing all who believed on her by her prayers, until having, thaler by thaler, secured all the cash of a poor sergeant-major for the heavenly kingdom, she was prevented from doing further harm. The trances of Peter Träger, the fifteen-year-old prophet of Virnheim, caused a sensation throughout Hesse; shortly after he slew a peasant in order to marry the latter's rich old wife. A stigmatic peasant girl of Upper Bavaria begat the host upon her tongue by prayer alone, and befooled even the aged Ringseis, until weary of prayer she took to an evil life; even the Queen Isabella of Spain allowed herself to be guided by the nun Patrocinio, another miraculous woman, until she thereby lost both crown and kingdom.

Railways and steamers increased the taste for travelling,

Charles Keene THE CONSIDERATE COACHMAN (*Punch*, 1872)

which could now be undertaken in some comfort; even the middle classes were now able to enjoy a pleasure from which they had hitherto been excluded. In 1849 Cook started his excursions between London and Paris, with a week's stay, for £8, and his enterprise met with enormous success. The sharper followed without delay in the wake of the travelling public, living on the tastes and hobbies of the rich idle multitude. A Polish Jew, Israel Gurin, travels as Prince Obelinski, staying at the best hotels and other chief places of entertainment, making use in turn of other people's travelling-trunks, as thirty years later was done likewise by the famous Prince Lahovary. The facility now afforded for foreign travel brought different nationalities as well as different classes into contact with one another. On the neutral ground of Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden, Biarritz, Spa, the well-born and the rich met in unrestrained fellowship as equals, which they were actually far from being in those days; the demi-monde and foreigners gave to this mixed society the *haut-gout* which characterised it during the whole of that period. It is astonishing, as we turn over the leaves of the diaries and letters of those days, to notice

how frequently we come across the names of foreigners, not only of diplomats, but of artists, authors, of professionals and base-born men and women. Baron Hübner is surprised during the fifties to meet in the Paris salons so few Parisian and so many Italian, Hungarian, Polish, and Russian ladies; at the French court half the society was composed of more or less distinguished foreigners. When Eugenie mounted the throne, Spaniards and Spanish Americans thronged to the court, and the type of the Rastaquouère with immense diamonds and overbearing manners was introduced. This inroad of foreigners into the good society of Paris was sufficiently ill-received at the time, and the generally accepted fact that the French, who had hitherto been the leaders of good tone, had ceased to be looked up to as models, was attributed even by themselves to this foreign element. An article which appeared in the *Constitutional* during 1870, inspired, it was generally believed, by the Empress Eugénie, went so far as to make the Princess Metternich and Frau von Rimskij-Korssakow responsible for the common tone that had crept into Parisian salons. This rude insinuation, however, went wide of the mark. The tone of French society was bad because the courtesan ruled it, and if those in her company caught the tone, so did also those who were accustomed to take French society as their model. Bismarck, in 1851, complains of the loud manners of the Frankfurt ladies, of the looseness of their ways and speech, of the *double entendre* in which they so frequently indulged. Society was like an ill-founded bell that gives out false tones, and one may truly say that the society of those decades was full of discordances.

Another feature noticeable at this time was a schoolroom atmosphere introduced by the middle classes, who laid undue weight on learning, especially on that of the past ages, which was of no practical service to them, and who saw a hero in in every professor. It became the fashion with them to crowd their drawing-rooms with noted men and women, no matter how dull or unmannerly they might be. Frederick William IV., Maximilian II., Napoleon III., invited poets

Ed. Manet NANA

and scholars. When Hebbel visited Munich, royalties struggled to get possession of him. The Empress Augusta, when Princess of Prussia, was proud of the patronage she distributed among the free-thinkers and men of letters who composed the cream of the Berlin world of scholars and authors; and the learned on their side sunned themselves with pride in the favour of the Court. Bismarck and Gerlach give us delightful anecdotes of Alexander von Humboldt and his conversation at table. These gentlemen spoke with authority even in the salon; they plumed themselves on their knowledge, which they mistook at times for culture, and thereby laid themselves open to angry retorts; Mignet and Thiers quarrel at a dinner over Herodotus, until the latter ends the discussion by exclaiming, "Well, evidently you know nothing about Greek"; and Gregorovius in his journal relates similar experiences of his own with Mommsen. A literary and æsthetic element pervaded society; so at the Kugler house in Berlin, at the Altenburg in Weimar, in the Wesendonk house on the green hill at Zurich, literature and art gave a tone to the gatherings within their walls and brought the guests into sociable intercourse with one another. The circle assembled at the Falkes' house in Vienna write a novel, the chapters being divided among the guests; the Princess Eugénie buys an ancient ring at Wiesbaden, and every one in her circle has to write a tale about it.

The rich parvenus tried to outdo the rest of society. Their money destroyed the elegance and refinement of style that was possible only to a generation that had centuries of culture behind it; the purse-proud upstart presided now, and the

aristocrat went to the wall. Bismarck speaks of the tons of silver on the Rothschild's table at Frankfurt, and Hübner, having dined with the commercial prince of the same family

Du Maurier (*Punch*, 1873)

"By-the-bye, Lady Crowder, have you met the Partingtons lately ?"
"Not for an age ! They were at my ball last night. But I didn't see them. By the way, did you happen to be there, Captain Smithe ?"
"Oh yes ! enjoyed myself immensely !"
"So glad !"

in Paris, writes that the table was loaded with silver, flowers, wax candles, and victuals. When, as Moltke expresses it, this parvenu of riches entertained Napoleon III., the "parvenu of power," at Ferrières in 1803, he disbursed 400,000 thalers, and turned his country-seat, according to the Emperor Frederick, into a perfect curiosity-shop, displaying more luxury than sense.

To this pride of learning of the bourgeoisie, this ostentation of the purse-owner, was added the frivolity of the demi-monde, which has no thought beyond the day. All tact, all sense of decency and propriety was lost; such words were not in the dictionary of this society. The whole world of beauty went mad over Orsini, whose bomb outrage had cost so many

innocent people their lives—admiring his greatness of soul, his dignity and beauty; and it was with difficulty that the Empress could be deterred from going to visit him in the

Du Maurier RINK TENNIS (*Punch*, 1876

Conciergerie. Quite a fair was held on the site of the murder in Pantin, after the monster Troppmann had massacred the whole Kinck family, and everyone in Paris envied Mme. Ratazzi's luck in being present at the post-mortem of the first six corpses; people fought hotly for places at the trial, and no good seats could be had under 500 francs. The easy morality of the courtesan was far outdone by that of the great ladies—the Countess Castiglione appeared at a ball, given by one of the ministers, as Salammbo, in an unmentionable costume. At another ball given by the Count Duchatel the chief attraction was the nude figure of a young person who represented Ingres' "Nymph" in a living picture. Moral laxit went beyond all bounds. Napoleon III. thinks to make hi cousin Plonplon acceptable to the Princess Clothilde by

KING LUDWIG II. AND KAINZ (*Photograph*)

expatiating on the goodness of his heart, which was such that he had left Paris in the middle of the Carnival to go and see a mistress of his who was dying at Cannes; and the Minister, Count Walewski, refuses an invitation to an important dinner simply because he wishes to attend the funeral of Rachel, the mother of a son of his.

This freedom from all moral restriction did not, however show itself in freedom of manners, but rather seemed to wish to conceal itself behind certain conventions. Middle-class society, especially in Germany, became stiff and formal; it had no style of its own, and where it could not copy from the higher classes or the military, it failed. So Fontane writes

THE SISTERS

GABRIEL MAX. 1876. National Gallery, Berlin

BISMARCK AND PAULINE LUCCA
(*From a photograph*, 1865

of old Berlin that it was a mixture of ugliness and unrefinement; and when the same observer elsewhere remarks that the centre of gravity of Berlin existence is rank, title, and orders he tacitly proves that there was then the same lack of culture as thirty years previously Gabriele von Bülow and thirty years earlier still Achim von Arnim, had found reason to lament.

Two such differently constituted natures as Richard Wagner's and President von Gerlach's, are equally and painfully

Menzel

RICHARD WAGNER AT THE REHEARSAL

alive to the oppression weighing upon life and society. "What a ban there is on all sociability," writes the aristocrat in his diary; "all that one has really at heart is excluded from conversation, and is never even put into words." And the artist is suffering from the same feeling when he exclaims, "Good tone! alas, never to show feeling, and never, if you love God, to allow yourself to be carried away by enthusiasm!" Every individual trait of character, every feature of personality had to be polished away; for a man to be tolerated in society he had to hide the *I* behind a mask of conventionality, to adapt his sentiments to his company, and he did well to accept the politics and religion of his surroundings. *Punch* in 1848 makes fun of these rules of behaviour. "A gentleman," it says, "may kill another in a duel, but he must not put his knife in his mouth; he may carry a brace of partridges, but not a leg of mutton; and woe to him should he be seen without gloves, or take soup twice, or carry a parcel across the street."

Dancing will always remain a favourite amusement, and if to-day it is almost entirely monopolised by the young people, it was by no means so in those times, when the elders were not inclined to deprive themselves of this pleasure. Baron Hübner writes about the Parisian balls in 1856: "Our mothers

of families danced like women possessed;" and Moltke notices when at the English Court that Queen Victoria, the mother of six children, never misses a dance on the programme. In the thirties the polka was the favourite dance —as many as eight were down on the programmes of English Court balls as late as 1845; under the Second Empire it was superseded by the galop. The chief feature of the balls of this period, however, was the cotillion; it was so much in favour that in 1865 it became the fashion in Paris to drive to balls at three o'clock in the morning for the sake of joining in the cotillion. For many years the Marquis de Caux, Patti's first husband, was the leader of the cotillion at the Tuileries; at the Tuileries balls was also introduced the fashion of giving costly cotillion presents, a fashion which soon became universal. Great surprise was caused in 1866 at a certain ball in Paris, when, as a signal for cancelling all engagements, the music of "Marlbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre" was struck up. Masked balls were the chief delight, the great fancy-dress entertainments given by Count Walewski in 1856 having encouraged this fashion. Men went chiefly in dominos; women wore fancy costumes, representing flowers, stars, birds, months, seasons, etc. At a fancy-dress ball given by the Minister of Naval Affairs in Paris, a great sensation was caused by the magnificent entry of the five continents, arrayed in gorgeous costume. It was towards the close of the Empire that the most splendid and most amusing of these entertainments was given by Arsène Houssaye; the invitations, so eagerly coveted, contained only one condition: "La beauté sous le masque est de rigueur."

Among the chief beauties at these and other gay festivals were the actresses, who had reaped good advantage from the mixing of classes that was taking place in modern society. From being looked down upon, as they were up to the end of the eighteenth century, both actors and actresses were now not only tolerated, but sought after by society. The marriage of sons of the nobility with theatrical stars was a matter of daily occurrence: Prince Adalbert of Prussia marries

Du Maurier THE PET YOUNG BACHELOR PARSON (*Punch*, 1878)

Therese Elssler in 1850; Prince Friedrich Liechtenstein, Sophie Löwe; Prince Windischgrätz, Marie Taglioni; Count Broël-Plater, Caroline Bauer; Count Prokesch-Osten, Friederike Goszmann, etc. The footing of equality on which men of good society and the ladies of the stage now stood is to be seen in the photograph of Bismarck and Pauline Lucca, taken at Gastein in 1865. The rage for theatre-going which prevailed in Germany before 1848 did not diminish afterwards; on the contrary, Berlin only possessed three theatres in that year, and eight in 1850, and the number of theatre-goers enabled the German managers from the middle of the forties, following von Küstner's good example, to give a share of the profits to authors and composers. Thus Gutzkow in 1846 received

Auguste Renoir THE CONVERSATION

Heilbuth CAUSERIE

for seventeen performances of his *Urbild des Tartüffe* 850 thalers; Lachner for eight performances of Caterina Cornaro 760; and Offenbach in 1867 alone drew 240,000 francs from this source, Even on the stage, scenic display, in which machinist, decorator, and costume-maker had the last word, was held in higher esteem than the serious worth of a piece. The ballet, the most senseless of all artistic forms, was actually preferred to the opera, and that at the moment when Richard Wagner was preparing to give the world the most perfect of artistic creations for the stage. His time and generation were not worthy of him. With the exception of a few of the more enlightened, whose names will never be forgotten, none of his contemporaries appreciated his work, and he had to wait for a later generation for his crown of fame. In those earlier days Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn, Rossini, and Verdi were preferred before him; and how could *Tristan,* or the *Meistersinger,* or the *Ring of the Nibelungen* appeal to audiences who were content with the bacchanalian whirl of an Offenbach galop! It was not the light and exhilarating melodies of the latter's operettas alone that carried his audiences away; the librettos of his Orpheus, Helena, and other works, with their pitiless

mockery of all tradition and ideal, were pleasing to a generation who delighted in ridicule even when directed against themselves, and were fitted to a period when it was possible, as in 1854 in Nadar's Pantheon, to have an exhibition composed entirely of caricatures of contemporary celebrities, and when, as in 1869, a fashionable toy among adults was the Grimatiscope, indiarubber portraits of eminent people, which could be squeezed into caricatures. This idea of amusement expended itself to the full in the *Archduchess of Gerolstein* which gave the monarchs assembled at the Exhibition of 1867 in Paris an opportunity of enjoying the grotesque imitations of their own persons.

With the exception of horse-racing, sport was not a general amusement. Gymnastic exercises were for a long time forbidden in Prussia and were thought so unseemly, even in the sixties, that Bismarck could not bring himself to let his sons take part in them at their school; on the other hand, mountain climbing came into vogue. Not above thirty-one persons, among them fifteen Englishmen, ascended Mont Blanc between the years 1786 and 1846, but after the latter date its ascent became a matter of daily accomplishment.

Zampis VIENNA FOUR-WHEELER

OFFENBACH, THE COMPOSER (*Photograph*)

and other more difficult heights were now attempted, such as the Dolomites and the Matterhorn, while the founding of the German-Austrian Alpine Club led to a large yearly increase in the number of Alpine climbers. Skating, in which Klopstock and Goethe had long previously taken pleasure, was not in fashion again before the middle of the nineteenth century. It was introduced into Berlin in the forties by Princess Pückler, in 1862 into Paris by the Empress Eugénie; the painter Stevens was reckoned for many years the most expert skater in all

LADY IN THE FOREST

AUGUST RENOIR. 1867. Folkwang Museum, Hagen

Europe. The animal world also took part in the progress of the times. We ourselves became acquainted a few years ago with the gifted Hans, of whom we were asked to believe such marvellous accounts; forty years previously there had been a similarly endowed animal in Count de Rouit's learned dog, first exhibited by its owner in Paris in 1866, and which indeed far surpassed Herr von der Osten's horse in range of knowledge and intellectual capacity. This delightful animal could not only write correctly and calculate accurately, but during its leisure hours it amused itself with translating Greek into English!

END OF VOL. III.

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